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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 417

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'GUOJI WENTI YANJIU' ON ASEAN'S SECURITY STRATEGY

HK251220 Beijing GUOJI WENTI YANJIU in Chinese No 1, Jan 83 pp 50-55

[Article by Lin Xiaozeng [2651 1321]: "ASEAN's Security Strategy"]

[Text] The strategic position of each country within ASEAN is important and their individual peace and the peace and stability of the entire area of Southeast Asia represent an integral part of the peace and stability of the Asian Pacific region and indeed the whole world. Since its foundation 15 years ago ASEAN has not only seen development in many different areas such as economics and culture but it has also worked very hard at maintaining peace among the ASEAN countries as well as general peace and stability throughout Southeast Asia.

1

After World War II the countries of Southeast Asia individually gained independence. With the opening of the Bandung Conference in 1955 the spirit of Bandung greatly stimulated and motivated national democratic movements among Third World countries and promoted regional cooperation as well as cooperation between countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. As a result, Southeast Asian countries began to constantly look into the establishment of regional cooperative organizations. On 31 July 1961 the Association of Southeast Asia (ASA) was set up in Bangkok, comprising the three countries Malaya, the Philippines and Thailand. The organization aimed only at economic and cultural cooperation, excluding political cooperation and mutual defense. In 1963 the state of Malaysia was set up and a severing of diplomatic relations between Malaysia and the Philippines over territorial disputes meant that the ASA broke down. In March 1963 the three countries Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia formed the organization known as Maphilindo. Since all three countries were not in agreement over the question of the establishment of Malaysia the organization did not in fact do anything. In 1966, with mediation by Thailand certain agreements were reached concerning the territorial controversy between the Philippines and Malaysia while Malaysia and Indonesia both announced a cessation of hostilities between their two countries. On 8 August 1967 the foreign ministers of the five countries of Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Indonesia and Thailand signed in Bangkok the "Bangkok Declaration" in which the founding of ASEAN was announced. For a long time ASEAN followed the course of ASA and

Maphilindo by only concerning itself with economic, cultural and social cooperation and ignoring any other areas of cooperation, indeed even denying and rejecting political cooperation. However, in actual fact ASEAN was from the very beginning, like its two predecessors, an organization which carried out political cooperation and indeed it was mainly because of the need for political cooperation that the organization ever came into existence as an alliance of nations.

The founding of ASEAN not only reflected desires amongst Southeast Asian countries to strengthen regional ties but it was also the product of a developing trend in Southeast Asia at that time. In the latter half of the 1960's the situation in Southeast Asia had become tense and very unstable with a wide complexity of various problems and disputes. Two things at that time had an immensely jolting effect on Southeast Asian countries and one was the announcement by Britain that it intended to withdraw from East of the Suez Canal and the other was the United States' increasing difficulties in maintaining a stand in their war in Vietnam. ASEAN feared that a U.S.-British withdrawal of strength from Southeast Asia would mean that the Soviet Union would move in "to fill the gap" for as soon as Indochina "changed its colors" the rest of Southeast Asia would follow in a domino effect. Faced with this intense fear the countries of ASEAN overcame their many differences and problems and decided to form an organization of nations, hoping that through increased regional cooperation and unity, peace and stability would be maintained in the region. One Indonesian scholar made the following summary, "While ASEAN was set up as an organization to organize economic, cultural and scientific cooperation, the real motive force and trend behind the establishment of the organization was a common fear amongst the people of the outcome of the war in Vietnam which forces them to consider their own safety and defense." (Leader of the Indonesian Research Center on Strategy and International Questions, Joseph Wanandi, "Looking Towards a Resolution of the Indochinese Conflict" The Indonesian monthly magazine ANALYSIS, April 1982, pp 314-315.)

The basic aims of ASEAN's security strategy, on the basis of the Bangkok Declaration, are "determination to preserve stability and peace and not to tolerate any kind of external intervention and to preserve the national character of every member state on the basis of the wishes and ideals of the people of each state." As the then foreign minister of Indonesia Yadang Malika put it, after the withdrawal of American military forces from Indochina, "the gap left may be filled by Southeast Asian countries themselves" (Yadang Malika "10 Years of Indonesian Foreign Policy" published in Jakarta 1978, p 14). The Malaysian Foreign Minister Jiazali put it thus: "The unification of ASEAN can together protect the system of free enterprise, it can oppose communism and it can also oppose monopoly capitalism" (Jiazali "ASEAN Contributions to Stability and Development." See MALAYSIAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, December 1980, p 340). As the world entered the 1970's, ASEAN countries found themselves faced with the rapidly increasing dangers of hegemonist expansion on both large and small scales from the Soviet Union and Vietnam as well as an increasing threat from the Soviet military presence in the Western Pacific and the Indian Ocean. Under this situation ASEAN changed its policies to direct them more against the Soviet Union and Vietnam.

From the founding of ASEAN to present day its policy changes have been in line with the following periods of time:

First period: from the founding of ASEAN up until the announcement of the Kuala Lumpur Declaration (27 November 1971). During this period cooperation in the ASEAN region was still exploratory and preliminary with internal relations still rather tense. A cessation of fighting between Indonesia and Malaysia had just been announced, the territorial dispute between the Philippines and Malaysia over Sabah had only temporarily reached a state of detente but in actual fact had not been resolved, differences and problems between Singapore and Malaysia were very evident, while border disputes between Malaysia and Thailand had just begun and Thailand and the Philippines were rather cut off from other ASEAN countries as a result of belonging to the "South East Asian Treaty Organization." Thus during this period the five nations were mainly involved in regulating internal relations and looking at ways of cooperating while their external efforts were geared to seeking support for ASEAN from major powers and other relevant countries. The Sino-Soviet border conflicts in 1969 and China's restoration of its rightful seat in the United Nations in 1971 followed by Nixon's announcement of his intention to visit China brought about major changes in the world situation. In the light of this situation ASEAN called a meeting of the foreign ministers of its five member states in November 1981 in Kuala Lumpur and signed the "Declaration of South East Asian Neutrality," formally announcing that the major aims for which ASEAN was to strive were the establishment of peace and freedom in Southeast Asia and a region of neutrality.

Second period: from the Kuala Lumpur Declaration until the end of the Vietnam war (1975). During this period Sino-Soviet relations continued to be very poor, Vietnam was seen to be increasingly following the Soviet Union while the Soviet Union made timely use of the U.S. withdrawal from Indochina and stepped up its expansionism in Southeast Asia. The situation in Indochina became tenser and more volatile while developments in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos became of increasing concern to ASEAN. ASEAN had three wishes; the first was that Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos would take the road to peace, neutrality and non-alignment; the second was that North Vietnam would adopt a position of neutrality between the Soviet Union and China; the third was that Vietnam and indeed the whole of Indochina would become a "buffer region." ASEAN believed for a time that the U.S.-Vietnamese agreement signed concerning the termination of the Vietnam War and the restoration of peace might herald the beginning of neutrality in Southeast Asia. (Communique from the five foreign ministers of ASEAN at the Kuala Lumpur Conference, 15 February 1973). Thus ASEAN called for a conference of 10 Southeast Asian countries, hoping to include all Southeast Asian countries. During this period of time ASEAN was extremely sensitive about its own peace and stability and it flatly refused the Soviet Union's plan for Asian peace, and making very clear its refusal to the Soviet and Japanese request for the internationalization of the Straits of Malacca. As things developed all the ASEAN countries except Indonesia took steps to improving relations with the PRC and Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand established diplomatic relations with China.



Third period: From the end of the Vietnam War until just before the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea. During this period the United States was forced to pull back from Southeast Asia while the Soviet Union took advantage of this situation and entered the region with the result that there were fundamental changes in the situation in Indochina and the ASEAN countries felt their peace severely threatened. In the face of such a serious situation ASEAN called two summit meetings in 1976 and 1977 in Bali and Kuala Lumpur. These were the only two summit meetings that ASEAN had held since its inception and after the meetings the alliance signed "The Southeast Asian Friendship Treaty" and "The ASEAN Declaration of Mutual Cooperation," thus changing ASEAN's internal relations and strengthening the organizational structure of ASEAN as well as defining spheres of regional cooperation and ratifying plans for economic cooperation. The summit meeting was very particular in defining political cooperation within ASEAN, placing the preservation of peace and stability in the five countries and regions of ASEAN in a position of primary importance. (See "The ASEAN Declaration of Mutual Cooperation.") Thus political cooperation within ASEAN took a front seat. While the summit meetings reaffirmed the demand for the establishment of peace, freedom and neutrality in Southeast Asia, it was mainly directed at the situation in Indochina and thus the hope was expressed that "all nations in the region, (including Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam) may develop peaceful and mutually beneficial relations" while there was also a strong emphasis on peaceful coexistence. For this reason the ASEAN countries quickly established diplomatic relations with Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos as well as agreements on economic cooperation. This reflected the constantly-increasing fear on the side of ASEAN of the Soviet threat, although ASEAN continued to use active measures to win over Vietnam trying to make the situation in the three countries of Indochina develop in a direction more favorable to ASEAN. In August 1976 the Indonesian Foreign Minister Malika said "With harmonious relations between all countries in Southeast Asia, peace in the region can be maintained. Such harmonious relations and peace must not suffer dangerous attack, mainly from the military forces of the two superpowers the United States and the Soviet Union. The countries of Southeast Asia should be allowed to govern and set up their own states in an atmosphere of peace and harmony." (Malika, "10 Years of Indonesian Foreign Policy" published in Jakarta, 1987 [as printed] p 14.) These words collectively reflect the policy thinking of ASEAN at that time.

Fourth period: From the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea to the present day. In November 1978 the Soviet Union and Vietnam signed a friendship treaty based on a military alliance, upon which Vietnam, with Soviet support, brazenly invaded and occupied Kampuchea. These two occurrences made ASEAN feel that it was facing an even more serious danger and threat than before. The direct Soviet invasion of Afghanistan permitted ASEAN to see with even more clarity the Soviet Union's strategic intentions in the South. ASEAN feared a further southward move by the Soviet Union and also feared a Soviet threat of the Straits of Malacca from the Indian Ocean. The fast buildup in Soviet military strength in the Indian Ocean and the Western Pacific in recent years as well as Soviet and Vietnamese infiltration and subversion in ASEAN nations has made ASEAN feel even more insecure. In order to resist and fight off the Soviet and Vietnamese threat ASEAN once again made timely alterations to

its policies and made great efforts to seek American, Japanese, West European, Australian and New Zealand support, as well as, to differing extents, seeking the aid of China's strength in restricting the Soviet Union and Vietnam's plans in the south.

2

The security strategy of every nation in ASEAN has its own characteristic, but in overall terms the general strategy is as follows:

- 1) A strengthening of regional cooperation and ties. The nations of ASEAN hope that through improved regional ties and cooperation, a more concerted strength may be developed, thereby stepping up the region's and the people's "resistance." Ever since the founding of ASEAN the preservation of peace, security and stability in the five member countries and regions has taken an important position in ASEAN cooperation and ties. ASEAN is not a collective resistance organization, nor is it a military alliance but the five countries have constantly consulted each other and carried out cooperation in order to resist external threats and intervention. The announcement of the "ASEAN Declaration of Mutual Cooperation" showed that cooperation in security and defense amongst the five member nations of ASEAN is based on a bilateral foundation. The main part of this kind of cooperation is to be found in affairs dealing with the administration and handling of border regions between two member nations and in recent years ever-increasing external threats have caused ASEAN to step up military cooperation and ties and joint military exercises in preparation for resisting foreign invasion and incursion.
- 2) The setting up of "region of peace and neutrality." An attempt to resist foreign invasion and intervention and avoid "a conflict with a large nation" and strive for peace and stability in the area. In 1971 ASEAN was deeply concerned about the appearance of the "domino effect" in Southeast Asia and thus made an official proposal for "A peaceful, free and neutral Southeast Asian zone." In more recent years this demand has become even more acute. In the future this will be an important banner for ASEAN for a long time. At the same time the U.S. and Soviet military buildup in the Indian Ocean also represents a threat to ASEAN and of the ASEAN countries Indonesia and Malaysia are particularly concerned, both actively calling for the Indian Ocean to become "a region of peace and neutrality."
- 3) Achievement of balance between the influences of the major powers. ASEAN has constantly had a strategy for promoting a balance between the superpowers and today this strategy has been integrated with the strategy of establishing a "region of peace and neutrality," in order to ensure the security of ASEAN countries. The thinking behind this strategy is that ASEAN welcomes a return of American influence in Southeast Asia. Many of those countries which have established diplomatic relations with China also hope that China will exert its influence in restraining the Soviet Union and Vietnam in the south.
- 4) The setting up of a "buffer region." In opinion of ASEAN the setting up of an area or strip of land along its northern edges, referred to as a "buffer region" would help protect its own security. It has tried to get



the whole of Indochina made into a buffer region, and it has also made efforts to get South Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea recognized as a buffer region and at one time it even advocated the setting up of an internationally-administered security zone in Kampuchea along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

3

The ASEAN countries believe that the world has now polarized and that the international situation is now affected by the three countries--the United States, the Soviet Union and China. ASEAN also takes very seriously the joint strength of Japan and Western Europe, especially their economic strength and influence but as yet ASEAN has still not come to see them as a decisive factor in world events. As far as the United States, the Soviet Union and China are concerned, ASEAN publicly refers to them by splitting up China from the Soviet Union and the United States, taking note of the fact that China is not a superpower. Nevertheless, in actual fact ASEAN often mixes up China with the Soviet Union and the United States.

The nations of ASEAN have a long history as friendly neighbors with China, all of them belonging to the Third World and in the past all of them having suffered imperialism, colonialist invasion and pressure. Today all the ASEAN countries and China are faced with a fight against hegemony and the preservation of peace and stability as well as the construction of their national economies. The harmonious relations that each of the ASEAN countries has with China have a deep foundation and positive background. However, historical factors have meant that the leaders of some of the ASEAN countries have severe reservations about China. As time goes on the countries of ASEAN will see with more clarity from the objective behavior of China, that she, China is their reliable friend and thus gradually eliminate these misgivings and doubts.

ASEAN was quick to be alert to the Soviet Union's hegemonistic expansion, and its understanding of the Soviet Union gradually deepened. The Soviet Union tried very hard to promote its Asian peace plan to the ASEAN countries but received constant refusals. The existence of the ASEAN organization became a stumbling block for the Soviet Union in their promotion of their Asian peace plan and thus the Soviet Union has for a long time opposed ASEAN. Soviet support of the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea and Soviet expansionist activities in Southeast Asia have made the Soviet Union extremely suspect in the eyes of all ASEAN nations. ASEAN feels that as far as the security of ASEAN is concerned, Vietnam represents the most immediate threat at the moment, while the Soviet Union in the background represents an even bigger threat. Although in recent years the Soviet Union has been forced to change its tactics with ASEAN, actively developing peace offensives and promoting friendly relations, trying to improve its relations with ASEAN, ASEAN itself feels that all this is nothing more than a plot by the Soviet Union and thus steadfastly refuses to upgrade its relations with the Soviet Union until Vietnamese forces withdraw from Kampuchea. ASEAN has already seen the threat

posed by increased Soviet military strength in Indochina and the Indian Ocean and, therefore, is not only standing up against the USSR itself but needs also to join together with China in resisting the Soviet Union.

Relations between ASEAN and the United States run very deep. Both the Philippines and Thailand have military alliance relations with the United States. In economic terms all five ASEAN countries are very dependent on the United States. Recently, as a result of increased expansionist activities by the Soviet Union and Vietnam in Southeast Asia, relations between ASEAN and the United States have strengthened even further and not only has ASEAN come to rely on the United States to even greater extent economically, but in addition there has been a great increase in military agreements and ties. At the same time there has been a move away from the hope that the forces of Southeast Asia itself could "fill the gap," to a welcome of continued American presence in the Asian Pacific region and increased American activities in the Indian Ocean. As far as the question of Kampuchea is concerned ASEAN has to rely on U.S. military strength to contain the Soviet Union and Vietnam while in political terms ASEAN hopes very much that the United States will exert its influence. However, American support of ASEAN is more words than action and the United States has not carried out ASEAN's wishes by a long way. ASEAN has to rely on the United States but does not want to form an alliance with the United States or be dependent on it. The countries of ASEAN still adopt attitudes of strong censure and opposition of the United States over some major international questions such as Israel, South Africa, the Law of the Sea, relations between the Northern and Southern hemispheres and so on. Thus they maintain the independence of their own policies. As far as the whole Indo-Chinese question is concerned, ASEAN member nations also have their own interests and beliefs and are not giving in to the United States.

ASEAN countries have fairly close ties with Japan and in economic terms Japan is ASEAN's closest partner, exerting a great influence on ASEAN. According to statistics for 1980, 32 percent of ASEAN's exports went to Japan. Japanese private investment in ASEAN countries reached \$7 billion, representing 77.1 percent of Japan's investments in Asia. By the end of 1979 official government aid from Japan to ASEAN countries had reached \$4.1 billion (1982 Japanese Ministry of Finance white paper on trade). Japan's foreign trade, foreign investments and foreign aid to ASEAN countries all exceed the United States' and puts Japan in the number one position. Japan's former invasion of the Asian Pacific region still remains fresh in the memory of the ASEAN countries and they still have reservations about whether or not Japan may once again become a militarist nation. There is also some dissatisfaction with Japan's economic expansion and Japan has been referred to as the "economic animal." When in 1974 Tanaka visited the ASEAN countries both Indonesia and Thailand [word indistinct] in large-scale anti-Japanese demonstrations. However, more recently, the increase in Japanese influence and changes in the situation throughout Southeast Asia have resulted in policy changes on both sides for Japan and ASEAN, with both drawing closer together. Japan's open assertion that ASEAN is the basis of Japan's foreign policy illustrates that in terms of the Indochinese question, ASEAN's policies

were its own policies too, which thus greatly increased ties between Japan and ASEAN. Although in economic terms Japan was eager to launch itself into Indochina it has in fact hung back in respect of ASEAN. Today, not only do the nations of ASEAN put a great deal of emphasis on the position of the Japanese economic giants and the aid they can offer ASEAN, they also publicly express their wish to see Japan increase its political influence, even going to the extent of making a concrete demand for Japanese influence in the Indochinese problem. ASEAN supports Japan in the dispute with the Soviet Union over the four northern islands, and hopes that Japan may contain the USSR's southward move along a northern front. ASEAN has already expressed understanding of Japan's strengthening of its national defenses and indeed encouraged Japan to share with the United States the task of defending East Asia and yet was on the guard against Japan extending its defenses towards ASEAN, absolutely rejecting any Japanese involvement in the defense of the Straits of Malacca, fearing that some Japanese might try to restore Japanese militarism. Originally ASEAN had grave doubts about the Japanese idea of a "Pacific community" but now the ASEAN countries have come round to active involvement in examining its potential. Indonesia has already expressed a wish to form the hub of a Pacific cooperative together with Japan and Australia. (Discussion with ANTARA Agency reporters by Indonesian Minister for Information Ali Mohtopo on 25 September 1982 in Tokyo after meeting with Japanese Foreign Minister Sakaruchi. See Pedoman, Indonesia, 27 September 1982.) Looking ahead, Japan's role and influence in Southeast Asia will most likely increase in the future.

4

The ASEAN countries' struggle to oppose Soviet and Vietnamese hegemony is not only in order to preserve national independence and economic construction in their own countries but it also serves as a tremendous contribution to the preservation of peace and stability throughout Southeast Asia and the entire world.

ASEAN fiercely censures the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea and upholds the legal position of Democratic Kampuchea absolutely refusing to recognize the puppet government of Heng Samrin, propped up by Vietnam and steadfastly demanding the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. At the same time, the United Nations, the Conference of Nonaligned Countries, the Conference of Islamic States and other international organizations have all exerted their influence producing positive results in the struggle for Democratic Kampuchea, the resistance against Vietnam and the fight against Soviet and Vietnamese hegemony.

Following proposals and urges by ASEAN the United Nations called an international conference on the Kampuchea question, setting up important principles and channels for a solution to the Kampuchea problem. The United Nations General Assembly has passed resolutions in 4 successive years supporting the rightful place of Democratic Kampuchea in the United Nations, censuring the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea and demanding a withdrawal of Vietnamese

troops from Kampuchea. In 4 years of voting Democratic Kampuchea has received overwhelming support and indeed every year the numbers of supporters increase, very obviously illustrating that the Kampuchean struggle against Vietnam is a just cause, although all this cannot be divorced from the great efforts made by ASEAN in this respect.

ASEAN's active work in creating unity among the tripartite patriotic forces in the Kampuchean struggle against Vietnam helped to further promote the Kampuchean struggle against Vietnam, while it also laid good foundations for a political solution to the Kampuchea question. The setting up of Prince Sihanouk as chairman of the United Government of Democratic Kampuchea illustrated a new phase in the struggle to save Kampuchea from Vietnam and this has dealt a serious blow to the Soviet Union and Vietnam.

ASEAN's exposure of the Soviet Union and Vietnam's plans and intervention have won the association international support and gratitude. The Soviet Union has placed spies amongst Malaysian government personnel for espionage reasons, has been buying up Indonesian military officers and stealing Indonesian military secrets concerning important sea passages and ports. Vietnam has made use of the movement of refugees into Thailand to send in its own spies into Thailand. Such facts as these that have already been exposed only serve to prove the motives and threat of the Soviet Union and Vietnam to ASEAN.

Although the ASEAN nations do not feel that the Soviet Union and Vietnam are going to immediately invade their own countries, they are making military preparations to defend against a continued southward offensive by the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Soviet and Vietnamese expansion in recent years in Southeast Asia has brought about sharp increases in national defense and security spending in ASEAN countries. Every ASEAN country is greatly increasing its military hardware and its military manpower, as well as increasing base camps and stepping up joint military maneuvers. Indonesia's defense spending for 1980 was 45 percent greater than for 1979 and spending for 1981 increased 15.3 percent over 1980. In Malaysia military spending for 1980 was almost double the figure for 1979 and for the 5-year plan from 1981 to 1985 defense and security spending will represent 23.8 percent of total government expenditures. In addition, both Thailand and the Philippines have restarted certain activities of the Manila Joint Defense Treaty with the United States while relations have also strengthened between the countries of the new "Five Nation Joint Defense," including Singapore and Malaysia and Britain and Australia.

However, on the other hand the countries of ASEAN all are hoping to advance into economically developed areas before the end of the century and thus are trying to avoid international conflicts and disturbances of all kinds. ASEAN is firm in wanting a Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea and today the ASEAN countries are still continuing to maintain and increase political, economic and military pressure on Vietnam, although ASEAN believes that the answer to the Kampuchea problem can only be a political one. Since there still exist some serious problems and political divergences amongst the five nations of ASEAN, each of the countries has some of its own ideas and plans for a security strategy and this could give the Soviet Union and Vietnam opportunities to sow seeds of discontent and carry out deceptive trickery amongst the nations.



Future trends in ASEAN's strategy mainly depend on the development of the situation in Southeast Asia.

While the development of the situation may produce many new situations and throw up many new problems, the most outstanding problem, both in world terms and within Southeast Asia will continue to be Soviet and United States hegemony. Since the arrival of the Reagan administration both the United States and the Soviet Union have stepped up military deployment in the Pacific and Indian Oceans and have increased their overall military strength. There have been changes and developments in the nature of the struggle between the two superpowers. Although Southeast Asia is not the most important area within the Soviet Union and the United States global strategies, the Straits of Malacca, Sunda and Lombok are all important sea lanes for the United States and the Soviet Union, and thus Southeast Asia has become an important midway base for the deployment of both superpowers' military forces. In their struggle over the sea lanes and surface regions the United States and the Soviet Union have no option but to intensify their struggle in Southeast Asia. Although the United States has already increased its military strength in Southeast Asia to oppose the Soviet Union the strategic trend of the Soviet Union being on the offensive and the United States on the defensive has still not basically changed. The struggle between these two hegemonies is still the biggest factor threatening the peace and stability of Southeast Asia. Within the foreseeable future Southeast Asia will continue to be an unstable region. The Soviet Union will continue to maintain its expansion in the region, becoming the major threat to Southeast Asian security. The Soviet Union's continued support for the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea is a threat to Thailand's security, and since there is still a long and difficult struggle ahead before a correct solution to the Kampuchea question may be found, while ASEAN's struggle to oppose the Soviet threat may have its ups and downs, it will in general intensify. Assuming that the basic trend of the Soviet Union's hegemony does not change and that the Soviet Union and Vietnam continue policies of expansion throughout Southeast Asia, then the basic direction of ASEAN's policy for maintaining its own security will not change much either.

ASEAN has proposed three different long-term ideas for Southeast Asia. One is that ASEAN should include the whole of Southeast Asia, the second is that a peaceful, free and neutral Southeast Asian zone be set up and the third is that a Southeast Asian Community should be set up. The directions and aims of all three of these proposals are the same, namely to achieve a "Southeast Asian people's Southeast Asia" with ASEAN as its main body. As far as plans of action are concerned ASEAN adopts principles of long-term planning and steady progression. All the signs seem to be pointing at ASEAN preparing for a three-phased move: the first phase being the fight for neutrality in Kampuchea; the second being a weakening or even total elimination of Vietnamese reliance on the Soviet Union so that Vietnam may adopt a

"central position" and achieve peaceful coexistence with ASEAN, and becoming a "buffer zone" for ASEAN; the third phase being to allow Indochina into ASEAN and to construct a Southeast Asian Nations' Community with such countries as Burma so that a cooperative organization which includes the whole of Southeast Asia might be achieved. These three phases are also divided into the short-term, the medium-term and the long-term and all three of them are of course intimately linked internally. While the medium-term and long-term plans are still a long way off they will to a very great extent influence the implementation of the near-future plans and indeed directly influence present policies and plans concerning Vietnam and other major powers.

An important factor in deciding whether or not the long-term plans worked out by ASEAN will work, is seeing how Vietnam behaves. At present, the Vietnamese authorities are working along two lines, military threats and political blackmail. This only complicates the situation for ASEAN's security and forces even more serious consideration for ASEAN's security strategy. If ASEAN intends to smash Vietnam's plans to dominate Southeast Asia, it will be a long and arduous struggle. Even to achieve their own long-term ideas is not an easy matter for ASEAN. However, there is at least one thing we can be sure of, as long as ASEAN increases its vigilance, strengthens its unity and maintains its struggle, then it will without doubt be able to quash the arrogant and wild ambitions of hegemony in Southeast Asia.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### DISCUSSION ON EUROPEAN THEATER NUCLEAR WEAPONS

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[Article by Zhang Gengchen [1728 1649 6591]" "The Problem of European Theater Nuclear Weapons and the Geneva Talks"]

[Text] The problem of European theater nuclear weapons (intermediate range nuclear weapons) first began to raise its head towards the end of the 1970's and has today developed into a major question in European affairs. The question is extremely complex and touches on a wide number of areas and has an extremely powerful influence on the relations between the United States, Europe and the Soviet Union. The end of this year is the scheduled date for the initial deployment of NATO intermediate range missiles and thus everyone is very concerned about the future of the Geneva talks on the limitation of intermediate range nuclear weapons.

#### 1. West European Efforts To Exert an Influence on the Nuclear Struggle Between the United States and the Soviet Union

The question of the modernization of NATO's European theater nuclear forces was initially raised by Western Europe and was a major move on the part of Western Europe to exert an influence on the nuclear struggle between the USSR and the United States in order to protect its own interests and improve its own position.

##### A) Schmidt's proposal and its aims.

In October 1977, the then West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt gave a historic speech on London at the international Strategic Research Center. In his speech he said that if the talks on strategic arms limitations were unable to eradicate the imbalances in European forces, then NATO "would have to ensure that there was an equilibrium in every component part of the strategy of deterrence." In other words, not only was there a need to preserve the strategic balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union, it was also necessary and vital to achieve a balance in theater nuclear weapons. Although in saying this Schmidt did not directly imply the need for deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, it was on the basis of this proposal of Schmidt's that the NATO Planning Committee drew up plans for the modernization

of NATO's theater nuclear forces. During the period of preparation and fermentation of NATO's modernization plans, Schmidt once again proposed on the one hand, preparations for the deployment of medium-range missiles and on the other, talks with the Soviet Union, with a vague hope of achieving peace with the Soviet Union.

Schmidt's proposals represented the whole of Western Europe's desire to have greater involvement in Soviet-American talks and Europe's common desire to see their own interests guaranteed. The main factors and considerations which caused West Germany to adopt this stance and make these demands are as follows:

- 1) The need to resist the Soviet military threat and ensure the security of Europe. The strategic situation that developed in Europe after World War II was that Western Europe had to rely on American strategic nuclear protection, while finding itself in a state of "imbalanced balance" with the Soviet Union. By the start of the 1970's the Soviet Union had achieved parity with the United States in strategic strength with the result that the United States' protection of Western Europe became much less credible. Western Europe felt that the strategic balance of power which had emerged between the USSR and the United States made the proportional differences in the East's and the West's European-based forces even more serious and threatening. What was more, the United States was also beginning to lose its superiority in terms of European theater nuclear strength.

During the 1950's the United States deployed "front line base systems" in an attempt at nuclear blackmail on the Soviet Union and later on it brought in around 7,000 tactical nuclear weapons. The United States' superiority in European theater nuclear strength was seen as implementing a strategy of "flexible response" on the basis of assuring West European security. But, in the middle of the 1970's the Soviet Union began a large-scale development of its theater nuclear forces, deploying a series of advanced backfire bombers and SS-20 missiles with the result that the balance of intermediate-range nuclear forces was tipped in favor of the Soviet Union. This new turn of events put Western Europe on tenterhooks and the West German Government's 1979 white paper on national defense stated that "The Soviet Union's medium-range nuclear forces are a strategic threat to the West European Atlantic Alliance and Western Europe has nothing with which it can match these forces." In December 1979, the then Italian Prime Minister Kexi-Jia [4430 6007 1367] pointed out even more clearly in a speech to the Chamber of Deputies that the modernization of Soviet nuclear systems "has changed the balance between Eastern and Western forces, in particular the balance of power on the European stage." Western Europe felt that the Soviet Union's "double superiority" in conventional and theater nuclear forces represented a threat to European security and that if Western Europe did not react in an adequate manner to the Soviet threat then it would in the future be faced with terrifying military and political blackmail. Thus it was this prelude which led to the West German proposal for the deployment of medium-range missiles in Western Europe.



2) The need to pin down the United States and avoid "a strategic separation" between the United States and Western Europe. The governing bodies of every West European nation believed that in the 30 years since the war, although Western Europe's defense capacity had increased to a certain extent, it could still not fundamentally give up U.S. protection. West Europeans feared that strategic connection between the United States' actual territory and Western Europe's security was weakening. West Germany felt that bringing American medium-range missiles into Western Europe would help curb this continuing separation. For by doing so it would on the one hand strengthen the United States' "commitment" in Western Europe and, on the other hand and more importantly, these medium-range missiles which could hit targets within the Soviet Union would tie together Europe's security and the United States' own territory, with the result that in the event of a conflict in Europe, the United States would not be able to extricate itself from the events.

3) The need to increase West Germany's and other West European countries' rights to expression on nuclear matters and prevent the two superpowers from creating another "Yalta." During the SALT II talks between the United States and the USSR, West European countries realized that since the United States and the Soviet Union were giving priority to limiting inter-continental nuclear weapons which could strike inside the other one's own territory, Western Europe was going to suffer even greater Soviet military pressure. What disturbed Western Europe even more was that sooner or later the American-Soviet talks on nuclear arms were going to directly touch on the subject of Western Europe theater nuclear weapons and this might result in a discussion of the question of European security without a European presence at the talks. Many people even feared a new American-Soviet-concocted "Yalta Agreement," at the expense of European interests. Both Britain and France made it very clear that their own nuclear weapons would not be subject to the Soviet-American nuclear arms talks and indeed both countries went on to strengthen their own nuclear capabilities in order to strengthen their positions. West Germany, which possesses no nuclear weapons, occupied the most sensitive and vulnerable strategic position. West Germany once again requested that the United States respect the interests of its allies in the talks with the Soviet Union and listen to its allies' opinions. Nevertheless, West Germany felt very sure that unless it had within its grasp very specific means, it would be very difficult for it to enjoy any rights of expression and opinion in the U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms talks. West Germany's proposal for the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in its own country would mean that it would gain vetoing power in the deployment plans, and as a result it would be able to exert some influence on both the United States and the Soviet Union, ensuring that West Germany's opinions were respected.

4) The need to maintain East-West detente and influence the policies of future Soviet leaders. Western Europe felt that the policy of detente could bring with it material benefits for Europe which could not be ignored. Only by pursuing policies of defense and detente could Western Europe guarantee peace and security in Europe. Admittedly, it was necessary to deploy new U.S. missiles in Europe in order to reduce the Soviet Union's constantly-increasing military pressure, but Western Europe had by no means realized

how much this would provoke the Soviet Union. Thus West Germany and other West European countries continued to demand that the United States agree to both prepare for the deployment of medium-range missiles and at the same time carry out talks with the Soviet Union on the limitation of medium-range nuclear arms, and through an East-West dialogue restore, on a rather low level, parity of strength in Europe, thereby ensuring that detente was not destroyed.

Furthermore, during the latter period of the Soviet leader Brezhnev's rule, Ba-er [1572 1422] and other well-known West Germans announced that West Germany (including Western Europe) had in recent years been most concerned about the direction of future Soviet policy. They hoped that Brezhnev's successor would adopt conciliatory policies toward Europe. However, these same Europeans also feared that the post-war generation of Soviet were even more willing to take risks. Thus they advocated the two tactics of preparation for missile deployment and the desire for talks and dialogue, in the hope that future Soviet policy would develop in the direction of "restraint."

B) "The dual resolution" and resistance to it.

After initial hesitation the Carter administration accepted the West German proposal and in May 1978 at the NATO Washington Summit Meeting it was agreed in principle that defenses should be strengthened and theater nuclear forces modernized. After a year of repeated research, comparisons and consultations in Autumn 1979 the NATO Nuclear Planning Committee finally came up with proposals for deployment and talks. On the 12 December of the same year NATO foreign ministers and defense ministers held an extraordinary meeting in Brussels and ratified the deployment plans and talks proposals drawn up by the planning committee. The resolution stated that from the end of 1983 NATO would start to deploy 108 Pershing-II missiles and 464 ground-based cruise missiles in Europe, altogether totaling 572 missiles (220 in West Germany, 172 in Britain, 80 in Italy and 50 in Belgium and Holland). All medium-range missiles would be put under the sole control of the United States. The resolution also stated that the Unified States should at the earliest possible moment start talks with the Soviet Union on the limitation of medium-range nuclear weapons. This resolution drawn up by NATO which included both deployment plans and proposals on arms limitation talks was later referred to as "The Dual Resolution," and it was on the basis of this resolution that Western Europe, and primarily West Germany exerted pressure on both the United States and the Soviet Union to organize the Geneva talks on the limitation of medium-range nuclear weapons.

Developments after the ratification of NATO's resolution proved that implementation of the resolution were to come up against greater obstacles than had been foreseen. The problems arose out of three main areas. First of all, both superpowers were exerting pressure and influence on Europe from two opposite directions. The Soviet Union stepped up its efforts to beguile and seduce Europe, seeking to block implementation of deployment plans. The United States put pressure on Europe to carry out deployment on schedule, criticizing Europe's stressing of talks as "self-Finlandization." Secondly, Western Europe's stand on demanding discussions to solve various problems became very much clearer as some smaller countries such as Holland and

Belgium still today have not accepted the decision to have missiles deployed in their countries. Within West Germany's Social Democratic Party, opposition to the introduction of U.S. missiles on German soil became much stronger, thereby weakening the political position of the then West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. Finally, throughout Western Europe and especially in West Germany, large-scale popular anti-nuclear movements developed. The present major demand of this movement is to oppose the deployment in Western Europe of modern U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles and it is putting considerable pressure on the United States and European governments. It would appear that NATO's intention of deploying a total of 572 missiles is not going to be completed very easily, but the majority opinion of the ruling groups of West Germany and other European nations is still that "The Dual Resolution" should be upheld despite all problems. They feel that both the United States and the Soviet Union are at present faced with many problems and that Western Europe might take advantage of this situation to push for Soviet-American agreements which would be of benefit to Europe.

## 2. The Latest Phase in the Nuclear Arms Race Between the Two Superpowers

During the latter 1970's the Soviet Union and the United States reached an agreement limiting the numbers of intercontinental nuclear missiles although this did not stop the continued struggle for nuclear supremacy between them. The latest phase of the nuclear arms race is characterized on the one hand by tremendous efforts on both sides to improve the quality of their intercontinental nuclear missiles and on the other hand by the race involving medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. The struggle between the two superpowers in Europe is the basic reason behind the recent prominence to the question of European theater nuclear weapons.

### 1) The struggle concerning theater nuclear weapons is an extension of the U.S.-USSR struggle for strategic superiority.

As everyone knows the United States enjoyed strategic nuclear supremacy over the Soviet Union for a long time after World War II and the United States carried out nuclear blackmail aimed at the Soviet Union from its bases in Europe. Later the United States developed nuclear submarines and intercontinental missiles and thus it withdrew from Europe its land-based medium-range missiles leaving a "frontline base system" comprising mainly airplanes capable of carrying nuclear warheads. After the mid-1960's both the United States and the Soviet Union began to concentrate on developing their intercontinental forces which could thus strike the enemy on its own territory and as a result the European-based arms race between the two took a back seat for a while, although problems concerning this question on both sides continued to remain. The Soviet Union considered the United States "frontline base system," which stood virtually outside its front door, a thorn in its flesh, and thus constantly wanted to remove it. During the SALT talks between the United States and the USSR the Soviet Union again requested that the "frontline base system" be included within the scope of the talks but this was flatly turned down on every occasion by United States. The United States' reason was that the "frontline base system" had been deployed in order to

counter the Soviet Union's superiority in conventional forces and that in fact it came under the command of NATO systems and as a result could not be counted as a part of the United States' strategic forces. After having caught up with the United States in terms of strategic nuclear weapons the Soviet Union began a large-scale development of its medium-range nuclear weapons with the aim of destroying America's superiority in theater nuclear weapons which depended on the "frontline base system." The speedy increases in the Soviet Union's theater nuclear forces caused panic primarily amongst Europeans and then stirred up unrest in the United States. The United States determined to once again change the balance of power in Europe and as a result drew up proposals with Western Europe to deploy medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

2) The effect of medium-range nuclear forces on the balance between United States and Soviet strategic nuclear forces.

The increased emphasis on the development of medium-range nuclear forces by both the United States and the USSR and its resultant race was a result of the fact that at that stage the general balance between Soviet and American strategic forces meant that differences in the strength of medium-range nuclear arms could alter the overall strategic balance between the two.

NATO's "Dual Resolution" stated that "the Soviet superiority in theater nuclear systems could destroy the present balance that has been reached in intercontinental nuclear systems." The reason for this was that although the Soviet's SS-20 missiles could not reach the United States, all of Western Europe's and NATO's nuclear forces were threatened by them. Western Europe is the United States' strategic focus and thus if the Soviet Union gained nuclear supremacy in Europe, then the strategic balance between the two superpowers would be destroyed. The 1979 West German white paper on national defense maintained that "with a strategic nuclear balance between the Soviet Union and the United States, the Soviet Union's medium-range nuclear strength gives it the upper hand in the overall balance between the two." From the Soviet Union's point of view, the fact that American medium-range nuclear missiles could strike Soviet territory and that NATO planned to make use of them all was really no different from the United States increasing its "strategic" weapons by around 600 missiles. An editorial by TASS on 9 February 1982 stated very clearly that "the Pentagon believes that the deployment of U.S. missiles in Western Europe will give the United States that military supremacy during the talks on strategic arms limitations that it would not have necessarily been certain to gain otherwise." This statement indicates that both the United States and the Soviet Union view the struggle over the question of European theater nuclear weapons as an important integral part of their struggle for strategic supremacy in the light of new developments and new situations.

3) A stepping up in the struggle between the United States and the USSR but both being restrained in various ways.

At present the Soviet Union is in the lead as far as medium-range missiles based in Europe is concerned and it is trying to maintain and even increase the lead that it has achieved. After the Reagan administration came to the White House and United States began large-scale development of its military



forces, making very clear its position of opposition to the Soviet Union. The United States wanted to gain strategic superiority by strengthening its nuclear reserves while at the same time stretching the Soviet economy through the arms race.

However, the nuclear arms race which both sides developed in Europe presented both sides with the problems of far greater complexity than ever before, and both sides found themselves restricted in many ways.

Primarily, Western Europe's efforts to restrict both hegemonists had intensified and strengthened. Western Europe hoped that the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe would increase the credibility of American protection of Europe and at the same time hoped that negotiations would achieve a low-level balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union, or ideally, a zero balance. This attitude adopted by Western Europe made it impossible for the United States to continue an arms race in Europe against the Soviet Union with any smoothness. The Soviet Union also found itself in a difficult situation since, if it did not want to lose its superiority in medium-range missiles, it would have to rope in Western Europe, thus posing an enormous problem.

Secondly, the question of Britain and France's nuclear strength was a problem facing both the Soviet Union and the United States which was very difficult to handle. The Soviet Union clearly wanted to include Britain and France's nuclear weapons as part of NATO's or America's medium-range nuclear forces. Obviously the United States was not happy to permit a balancing of power between the Soviet Union, one country, and the combined totals of Britain, France and the United States. But if any agreement was to be reached, it would in the long run have to involve the nuclear strength of both Britain and France. Today, not only are neither Britain or France taking part in negotiations, but in addition both countries are opposed to their nuclear weapons being counted as theater nuclear weapons. If France and Britain continue to take no part in talks and the Soviet Union continues to include their strength in their estimates, it is certain to give rise to increased and serious discontent with the Soviet Union and the United States on the part of France and Britain. If however Britain and France enter the talks and agree to reduce their own nuclear forces then it will create problems in the balance of power between the United States and France and Britain. In conclusion then, however this question is handled in the future, it is going to be a big headache for both the United States and the Soviet Union.

Furthermore the "frontline base system" was also a point of contention and controversy. The Soviet Union insisted it be included in talks while the United States wanted to avoid "complicating matters," using this as an excuse for refusing such discussion. If the United States does not give in, it will be difficult for any agreements to come out of the Geneva talks, while on the other hand, if such discussions are included in the talks it will then bring in the question of the balance of conventional forces in central Europe.

Finally, both the United States and the Soviet Union have linked together the talks on medium-range nuclear weapons and the Geneva talks on the reduction of strategic arms. At present the United States' main concern is to reduce the threat represented by greater Soviet numbers of inter-continental missiles which can strike American soil and thus if the United States wants to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union concerning the question of medium-range nuclear weapons, it is hoping that its deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe will be a card with which it can force the Soviet Union to give way on the question of reducing central system weapons. The Soviet Union, reasoning that American medium-range missiles are capable of striking within Soviet territory, want the opposite and are demanding that the United States view central system weapons as a sort of "compensation" for the Soviet Union, thus making it even harder to see a balance between the strategic strength of both sides.

In conclusion then, the question of European theater nuclear forces represents a binding link in that it completely intertwines the serious conflict between the United States and the USSR with the serious conflict in Western Europe as well as intertwining the question of the balance between each side's strategic nuclear strength and the question of theater nuclear strength and even the question of the balance of conventional forces. Thus it may be likened to a basket of crabs with each one biting and trying to get on top of the other one, difficult to join together and difficult to separate, and on one coming out on top.

### 3. Relations Between Western Europe and the Two Superpowers Are on the Point of Undergoing a New Change

The nuclear arms race between the two superpowers has always had a great influence on relations between Europe and the United States and Europe and the Soviet Union. With the emergence of the question of European theater nuclear weapons yet another change between their relations seems imminent.

#### 1) Mutual trust in a crisis situation has reached a serious point between Europe and the United States.

As far as European-American relations are concerned, the main reason why Europe brought up the question of theater nuclear weapons was because of its lack of trust in the United States. However, after ratification of the "dual resolution," relations between Europe and the United States did not improve and indeed more and more problems and differences between them emerged. The major problems between the two sides were mainly characterized by the question of how to handle the relations between deployment and negotiations. The United States wanted deployment first and then negotiations while Western Europe wanted to see talks before any deployment. With discussion and coordination this problem was not too difficult to resolve. The problem which proved much more difficult to solve was the question of so-called "strategic unity" between the United States and Europe. Western Europe had originally hoped that the deployments of medium-range nuclear missiles capable of hitting Soviet territory would tie the together and unite the interests and destiny of both Western Europe and the United States. [sentence as printed]

But the United States thought that after deploying medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe it would no longer have to use United States' central system nuclear weapons to protect Europe, and thus as a result American soil would avoid suffering from a Soviet nuclear strike back. As the scheduled deadline for deployment came nearer the ideas on each side became much clearer and more obvious. What especially drew sharp censure and dissatisfaction from Western Europe was President Reagan's and some high level American officials' public discussion of the possibility of a limited nuclear war in Europe.

The constant intensification of the argument concerning nuclear strategy between the United States and Western Europe reflects one fundamental fact, that the arrangement drawn up when NATO was first set up, that the United States should provide nuclear protection for Europe and that Europe rely on the United States for nuclear protection is now becoming harder and harder to uphold. And it is against this background that a multitude of U.S. proposals have been drawn up, such as MacNamara's "no first strike with nuclear weapons," Brezinski's plans for a "European nuclear neutrality zone," Hoffman's idea of "independent European nuclear forces" and so on. On the other hand the European countries have come up with ideas such as "neutrality," "nuclear free zones" and so on. Although all these ideas are different and in some cases completely opposite, their appearance in such numbers illustrates that more and more people on both sides of the Atlantic are seriously trying to work out how to solve the predicament facing Europe and the United States and their strategic relations, and discussion of this problem will continue for some time to come.

For some time now, changes in the balance of power between the United States and Europe have weakened considerably the United States position, and thus relations between the two have also changed a great deal. Today there are a great many political and economic differences and problems between the United States and Europe, although the common needs that both sides share in terms of military security are an important link binding them together. Today, the emergence of the question of European theater nuclear weapons has deepened conflicts and mistrust in terms of military relations. This will inevitably give rise to major changes in overall relations between the United States and Europe.

2) Future relations between Europe and the Soviet Union seem unpredictable.

Western Europe has constantly emphasized the development of relations of detente with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe but at the same time Western Europe believes that the premise on which detente can and must be based is an overall balance in military strength between the Soviet Union and the Western World. With the increasing complexity of the question of the balance of power and forces, the foundations for detente have become much more shaky.

Increasing division within West European governments over Soviet policy directly reflect the difficulties which policies of detente have come up against. While most Western European countries fear a fierce battle between the United States and the USSR on European soil, they also fear the development of

'pacifism' and 'neutrality' and there is a general feeling that there is increasingly less room in which to maneuver.

At present the Soviet Union is making great efforts to rope in Western European countries, but more in its stance than any action. In the present situation the Soviet Union is intending once again to push detente in Western Europe and since sole reliance on trading with natural gas is evidently not enough, the Soviet Union must also make some substantive concessions to Western Europe in military and political areas but it doesn't seem as if the Soviet Union is going to be able to reach any definite decisions in the near future.

Within Soviet-European relations, it is West Germany that is most prominent and indeed West Germany is the Soviet Union's major target in trying to win over Western Europe. However, West German internal government instability over the last two years has meant that Soviet-German political relations have not developed any further. After Helmut Schmidt's proposal that medium-range nuclear missiles be deployed, he was confronted with fierce opposition from the "left" faction within his own party and the Soviet Union used the "left" faction of the Social Democratic Party to tie down Schmidt's government. In Autumn of last year the Schmidt government collapsed and the Christian Democratic government which succeeded Schmidt adopted an even tougher attitude over the deployment of medium-range missiles. The Soviet Union decided to work on relations between East and West Germany to try and hook West Germany but after the Polish crisis, domestic factors gave East Germany serious reservations about continuing a policy of opening up towards West Germany. It is well worth taking note of what turn relations between both sides will in fact take within a predicament in which both Western Europe and the Soviet Union are finding they have less and less room to move.

3) Western Europe is increasing efforts to seek a way out for itself.

The increased struggle between the two hegemonists and the difficult predicament in which Western Europe now finds itself have caused every West European country to actively consider and think out their own way out of the situation.

France, acting very much out of character, has changed the passive attitude it has adopted for many years since the war over cooperation in West European defense and in recent years it has once again begun to explore the question of cooperation in West European defenses. After President Mitterrand came to power, a short period of hesitation was followed by the new intimate relations that exist with West Germany, actively urging West Germany to step up European defense cooperation. There has also been an increase in British initiatives on discussing defense matters.

West Germany still believes that as far as defense is concerned, the United States must be the major country to depend on for protection. However, lack of confidence in the United States has impelled West Germany to seek cooperation with other West European countries. In November 1981 the foreign ministers of both West Germany and Italy jointly proposed the establishment



of a European Alliance in which West European cooperation would be extended to areas such as defense. Not long ago France and West Germany agreed on the question of increasing strategic cooperation and the significance that this has on the promotion of European unity should not be underestimated. Of course the fact that there are still many problems and enormous difficulties in many areas means that the creation of a European political alliance or even defense alliance is still a long way away, but under the present new situation Western Europe is stepping up work and consideration of this possibility.

An overview of the European situation shows us that the question of theater nuclear weapons is giving rise to major changes in U.S.-European and Soviet-European relations. Some research organizations in Western Europe say that one of the characteristics of the present international situation is that foreign activities of the two superpowers are once again concentrated in the area of Europe. Recently Brezhnev even went as far as to say "now the time has come to consider making some progressive adjustments to the nature of the two alliances and relations between the two." As to which direction the situation will develop, we must wait until factors on all sides have been examined in more detail and one of the most important of these factors in the progression of the Geneva talks.

#### 4. The Geneva Talks and Some Points To Consider

The Geneva talks on the limitation of medium-range nuclear weapons began in November 1981 and the only two countries directly participating were the United States and the Soviet Union. The main reason for this was that throughout the nuclear struggle between the two, neither side has been willing to allow a third party to involve itself, and in addition both Britain and France refused to take part in the talks and thus Western Europe has taken no direct part in these talks which bear very much on Western European interests. However, since Western Europe may express either "agreement" or "disagreement" with the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe, they are able to exert a considerable influence on the progress of the talks.

The Geneva talks are a part of the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union to gain superiority in theater nuclear forces. In order to thwart the United States' plans for missile deployment and maintain its own supremacy in theater nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union first of all withdrew 20,000 troops from East Germany and a thousand tanks to induce NATO to commence talks immediately. Then, the Soviet Union refused to take part in talks, forcing NATO to withdraw the proposal, its main aim being to cause further splits between the United States and Europe and ruin NATO's plans for missile deployment. After Reagan came to power, the United States' increased activity in preparing for the deployment of medium-range missiles in Western Europe was merely to placate its West European allies and ruin the Soviet Union's "peace initiative" and only then did the United States commence talks with the Soviet Union.

On the eve of the beginning of the talks the Soviet Union drew a lesson from the talks on disarmament in Central Europe during which they were forced into a passive position being unable to obtain any concrete data on troop numbers and thus this time they laid on the table roughly fair figures for the Soviet and American (including British and French) balance of theater nuclear weapons and then in the talks put forward the suggestion that by 1990 both sides reduce their numbers of theater nuclear forces by two-thirds. Thus not only did the Soviet Union want to destroy NATO's missile deployment plans, it also wanted to squeeze American strength out of Europe. The United States was diametrically opposed to this and, by comparing figures, proved that the supremacy in theater nuclear weapons that the Soviet Union enjoyed was 6 to 1. The United States still held on to the "zero option" as the central aim of the talks, thereby trying to weaken the opposition's superiority. Away from the talks the Soviet Union announced a temporary postponement in the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, thereby intensifying the problems between the United States and Western Europe. The United States censured the Soviet Union for not keeping to its word and continuing to deploy SS-20 missiles. In conclusion, since both the United States and the Soviet Union lack any sincerity in the talks, there has been no development in the talks from when they started until today.

On the basis of the present situation it is possible to make the following preliminary comments on the talks:

- 1) Since the United States and the Soviet Union have still not managed to reach a basis for any substantial agreements, the talks will continue to drag on. The Soviet Union's claim that it has already halted deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles does illustrate its desire for reductions, but in actual fact the Soviet Union is continuing to deploy missiles (according to Western information the Soviet Union does not have as many as the 300 medium-range missiles that it told the West it possessed, but at present it is stepping up deployment to try and reach this figure). If the Soviet Union does not gain any advantages through the talks then it is not going to give up its deployment of weapons easily. Although the United States has accepted the European proposal and consequently put forward the "zero option," more and more people in the United States fear that if the United States reaches an agreement with the Soviet Union on the basis of the zero option (or something very near it), the result could lead to a weakening of the United States' position in Europe. The putting forward of this proposal by the United States stems totally from propaganda and tactical considerations. In conclusion both the United States and the Soviet Union are at a stage in which they are trying to strengthen their own political position and their position of power, and as a result the talks are going to proceed very slowly.
- 2) What will happen when the deadline for NATO's deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles arrives? There are perhaps two possibilities. One is that there will be absolutely no progress in the talks. Before his death Brezhnev said at a meeting of the Soviet military leaders, "actual preparation work is now going on in Europe for NATO countries' deployment of American medium-range

nuclear missiles." The West took these words as a sign that the Soviet Union was preparing to openly restart the deployment of SS-20 missiles. If the Soviet Union believes that the Reagan administration cannot be trusted and thus is adopting an even tougher attitude, then, should the Geneva talks reach an impasse by the end of this year, NATO will go ahead and commence the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles. If this happens, not only will East-West relations become even tenser, there will also be chaos within the governments of West European countries. The other possibility is that there will be some progress in the talks and NATO will conditionally defer deployment of the missiles. In view of the fact that the new Soviet leader has only just taken up office and that there are still some technical problems to be solved concerning the United States' medium-range missiles, it is possible that neither side is keen to have a showdown by the end of this year. Thus the possibility does exist that there will be "progress" in the talks and that some agreement might be reached by the end of this year. Looking at previous experiences in Soviet-Western talks as well as relevant present-day reviews of the situation, if the United States and the Soviet Union can by the end of this year reach definite decisions on such questions as the definition of European theater nuclear weapons, the scope of the talks and the methods of totaling weapons numbers and if both sides express purposeful and useful statements, then perhaps it will be possible to consider that progress has been made, and thus [word indistinct] may postpone deployment of the U.S. missiles.

3) In the long term, we cannot erase the possibility of the Soviet Union and the West reaching some kind of agreement on the reduction of European theater nuclear weapons, but it does not seem likely that the scale of any such reduction will be very great. As both the Soviet Union and the West need to reduce the nuclear threat aimed at themselves and since both sides are in economic difficulties with their domestic finances and are feeling the pressure of the people's antinuclear movement, it is possible that both sides may reach an agreement on limiting and reducing European theater nuclear weapons. But this is bound to involve a fierce round of bargaining and haggling and it will also need to involve both Britain and France. Even if an agreement is reached, the scale of reductions will not be very great. In order to protect their own position and security, both France and Britain will want to maintain a certain number of nuclear weapons and France might well want to preserve some tactical nuclear weapons. The United States on the other hand is not going to agree to a balance of power between France, Britain and the Soviet Union, since this would effect its own position in Europe and thus it is likely to want to maintain a "nuclear presence" in Europe. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it will have to demand a balance with the United States, France and Britain and as a result, such a balance is likely to be much greater than "zero."

The United States and the Soviet Union are at present involved in two sets of talks in Geneva; one set of talks concerns the reduction of U.S. and Soviet intercontinental strategic nuclear weapons and the other concerns European theater nuclear weapons. Together, these two sets of talks are closely interrelated with Soviet-American relations and Europe's internal and

external political situation. Both hegemonists will use these talks to influence Western Europe. Western Europe is going to decide its own countermoves on the basis of the United States and the Soviet Union's attitudes. If the United States could give more respect to Europe's opinions then there might be a possibility of improving U.S.-European relations. Today, the new Soviet leader is very busy consolidating and reorganizing domestic affairs. It is very difficult to say what changes, if any, there might be in the Soviet Union's foreign policy, or more specifically, its policy on the question of European theater nuclear weapons. Before making any decisions the United States and Western Europe should examine in more detail and try and draw some conclusions on the new Soviet leadership. The question of how the Geneva talks on the limitation of medium-range nuclear weapons and indeed East-West relations in general will develop, demands the greatest attention from everyone.

CSO: 4005/735

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### U.S. SPECIAL ENVOY DEPARTS ISRAEL FOR HOME

OW011322 Beijing XINHUA in English 0802 GMT 1 Apr 83

[Text] Beirut, 31 Mar (XINHUA)--U.S. presidential special envoy Philip Habib left Israel for home today for further consultations with President Ronald Reagan.

Habib took part in the 25th round of the Lebanon-Israel-U.S. talks which ended this morning with no results.

People had pinned some hope on Habib's latest Middle East tour as he had brought with him a letter from President Reagan on the Middle East. But, the three rounds of the tripartite talks in the past 10 days all failed because Israel rejected the U.S. new ideas and Lebanon's counterproposal.

The differences remained to be the problem of security arrangement and the status of Israel-backed Sa'ad Haddad. Israel demanded that Haddad and his militia be given a special independent status and that Lebanese and Israeli troops cooperate in carrying out joint patrols in southern Lebanon. The Lebanese side agreed only to form a bilateral military committee and insisted that security in southern Lebanon should be maintained by Lebanese Government troops with the help of the U.N. force and multi-national peace-keeping force. It also held that Haddad's militia could be integrated into the government troops and the militia officers, except Haddad himself, could be accepted by the government.

The Israeli propaganda machine has repeatedly spread word about possible unilateral and partial Israeli withdrawal to Awali, north of Sidon. Such a partial withdrawal is a ploy to occupy southern Lebanon for a permanent partition of that country and thus to force concessions from it. However, observers here suspected also another Israeli objective--to postpone discussion of Reagan's peace proposal which includes establishment of a Palestine-Jordan confederation. There were reports about possible Israeli concession if the United States would give up the Reagan plan. It was reported that Habib will return shortly to the Middle East with a new U.S. proposal to promote the tripartite talks. But, public opinion here is wary of U.S. promises, so many of which have been made and unfulfilled.

CSO: 4000/108



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT SPLITS ON OIL PRICE DECISION

OW020302 Beijing XINHUA in English 0243 GMT 2 Apr 83

[Text] Lagos, 1 Apr (XINHUA)--Nigeria will stick to its original oil price decided by recent OPEC meeting in London, according to official sources of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC).

The sources told XINHUA today that after considering the situation arising from the British oil price cut (30 dollars a barrel for top quality and 29.75 dollars for other categories), Nigeria decided to sell its light oil of the same North Sea crude quality at 30 dollars a barrel.

It is learned that a major split has emerged within the Nigerian Government on how to react to Britain's oil price cut. A significant part of the government led economic specialists was pressing for a matching cut to maintain Nigeria's 50 cents a barrel advantage over North Sea crude while petroleum experts in the government are supporting a policy of pricing Nigerian crude at a par with North Sea oil.

Last year Nigeria produced an average of 1.2 million barrels of oil per day. Since February this year, the production dropped sharply. For a dozen of days no tanker came to Nigeria to lift oil at all. After the price cut in February Nigeria resumed its production to 0.92 million or nearly one million barrels per day though it is still behind the recent OPEC quota of 1.3 million barrels per day.

CSO: 4000/108

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### FRENCH GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC POLICY EXAMINED

OW010942 Beijing XINHUA in English 0720 GMT 1 Apr 83

["From 'Expansion' to 'Austerity'--French Socialist Government's Economic Policy"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, 1 Apr (XINHUA correspondent Ye Xiaoting)--Three major incidents that took place in France in March have proclaimed the failure of the socialist government's economic and social reforms.

This is the general view inside the country and abroad with regard to the incidents--the defeat of the socialist party in municipal elections, the third devaluation of the franc since the socialist party came to power and the resignation and reorganization of the Pierre Mauroy cabinet.

Since coming to power in May, 1981, the French Socialist Party has undertaken extensive economic and social reforms. However, its efforts to rehabilitate the national economy by a policy of "expansion" and broader nationalization failed to achieve expected results, and the economy has gone from bad to worse.

In these circumstances, the socialist government had no alternative but to revise its original economic policy and practice greater austerity.

Although readjustments in the economic policy had brought down inflation to a certain degree and reduced the country's foreign trade deficits for a short period, the economic recession still continued its down-hill trend. In 1982, the growth rate of domestic production was only about 1.2 percent, much lower than the 3.3 percent target. An additional 400,000 people lost their jobs since the socialist government came to power and financial deficits reached 78.7 billion francs, tripling that of 1981. The inflation rate once exceeded 14 percent in the first half of 1981 and remained at 10 percent in the latter half of the year. Foreign trade deficits again rose to 93 billion dollars, doubling the figure of the previous year. Meanwhile, foreign debts went up to the staggering figure of 340 billion francs. The devaluation of the franc in October 1981, June 1982, and March 1983, reduced the exchange rate of the franc against the West German mark by 26.5 percent.

The deterioration of the economic situation caused dissatisfaction and disappointment among the French people, particularly the middle class. This was shown in the provincial parliamentary elections in March last year when the left wingers of the ruling party suffered a setback, and in the municipal elections in March this year, when they suffered another setback.

Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy and first secretary of the Socialist Party Lionel Jospin both asserted that the government should learn a lesson from the elections and reconsider the economic policy. External Relations Minister Claude Cheysson admitted that the Socialist Party's experiment to boost the economy had ended in failure while other cabinet members differed on whether the government should follow a "semi-austerity policy" or adopt even more austere measures. It was in these circumstances that Prime Minister Mauroy resigned and was authorized to form a new cabinet.

On March 23, the day after the new government was formed, President Francois Mitterrand urged the French people to practice economy and make "special contribution" to overcoming the economic difficulties. On March 25, the government adopted a ten-point action program indicating the government's intention to implement more austere measures. Minister for Economy, Finance and Budget Jacques Delors forecasted a zero to 0.5 percent economic growth this year.

When certain signs of economic recovery have appeared in the United States and other EEC countries, the gloomy prospects of France's economic situation cannot but arouse concern in the West.

CSO: 4000/108



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ANTINUCLEAR DEMONSTRATION HELD IN BRITAIN

OWO20758 Beijing XINHUA in English 0737 GMT 2 Apr 83

[Text] London, 1 Apr (XINHUA)--Tens of thousands of peace demonstrators, men and women, young and old, turned out today in the countryside west of London in a massive anti-nuclear protest, the biggest of its kind in the history of Britain.

The number of peace protesters is estimated to be more than 70,000 by the campaign for nuclear disarmament, Britain's largest peace movement group. They stood side-by-side along a 14-mile (22km) route from Greenham Common Air Base, where NATO plans to deploy 96 cruise missiles by the end of the year, passing by the Aldermaston Nuclear Research Center, to the gates of Burghfield Royal Ordnance Factory where Trident nuclear warheads are to be made.

They were brought there by hundreds of coaches from across Britain for today's demonstration.

The demonstrators linked hands at 1 pm to form a 14-mile human chain. Flares were launched and thousands of balloons released at about 2 pm when the chain was complete. Later, they held a rally on the open ground at Padworth Common near Aldermaston.

The Easter Friday demonstration marked the climax of this week's anti-nuclear protest at Greenham Common against the British Government's plans to allow deployment of new U.S. cruise missiles on British soil.

Mass demonstrations were organized in Glasgow and at the Faslane Polaris Submarine Base on Saturday and Sunday.

The anti-nuclear protest would herald the nuclear debate as a general election issue, it was believed.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Secretary of State for Defence Michael Heseltine were reported to have spoken against the demonstration.

CSO: 4000/108

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### UNCTAD DOCUMENT ON THIRD WORLD ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

OW021114 Beijing XINHUA in English 0844 GMT 2 Apr 83

[Text] Geneva, 1 Apr (XINHUA)--The secretariat of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), in a document issued recently, considers the outlook for growth in developed countries in general to be "clouded by uncertainty," while the underlying potential for rapid economic growth in developing countries as a whole is undiminished.

The document, entitled "The Current World Economic Crisis and Perspectives for the 1980's," will be presented to UNCTAD [word indistinct] due to be held in Belgrade in June.

The document points to the continuing economic and social progress in developing countries, manifested in their rising ratios of both gross capital formation and gross savings to GNP, in increasing industrial employment and improving health, life expectancy and educational levels.

However, the document says, the heavy pressure on the balance of payments is the main factor now limiting capacity utilization and growth for most developing countries.

In calling for international measures to restore growth in developing countries, the document recommends an enlarged flow of financial assistance for developing countries.

In this regard, the document estimates that, even assuming recovery in developed countries at a rate of four percent annually, with an associated improvement in commodity prices, additional flows of finance of about 90 billion U.S. dollars above the present level would be needed by developing countries over the two-year period. (1984-1985) in order to restore their growth to an average rate of five percent per annum in this period.

This, the document says, does not take account of what would be required to restore developing country reserves to the level of 36 percent of imports which prevailed in 1978, with the ratio falling to 23 percent in 1982. This, it says, would entail a further 50 billion dollars.

Toward this end, the document urges the developed countries to meet the target of allocating 0.7 percent of GNP to development assistance. It also calls for international policies to promote structural adjustment and overcome growing protectionism in world trade.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUSAYN, 'ARAFAT DISCUSS JOINT POLITICAL MOVES

OW031640 Beijing XINHUA in English 1617 GMT 3 Apr 83

[Text] Amman, 3 Apr (XINHUA)--King Husayn of Jordan and chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization Yasir 'Arafat Saturday discussed the Jordan-PLO relations and joint political moves to cope with the new situation in the Middle East.

While neither side disclosed the results of the talks, the JORDAN TIMES reported that a high Jordanian-Palestinian committee is scheduled to meet today to continue the discussion on the joint strategy.

Jordan and the PLO have been consulting each other on the establishment of a projected confederation since the PLO's evacuation from Beirut last summer. But no formal decision has been made on the formation of a joint team to negotiate with the United States on the basis of Reagan's initiative and the Arab Fes plan.

Abu Jihad, deputy commander general of the Palestinian Revolutionary Forces, told the press here yesterday that 'Arafat's talks with King Husayn were "indeed being held in a positive atmosphere." He denied reports that the PLO-Jordan ties were strained.

He stressed the PLO's position that the talks with Jordan should be based on the resolutions adopted by the Arab Fes summit and "decisions on specific issues," such as the formation of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian negotiation team.

The summit is expected to be held in Fes from April 14 to 17 under the orders of King Hassan II of Morocco in his capacity as chairman of the Arab League.

Jordan has repeatedly claimed that it will not enter into any peace negotiations without an active Palestinian participation.

CSO: 4000/108

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ANTINUCLEAR RALLIES CONTINUE IN WEST EUROPE

OW041954 Beijing XINHUA in English 1925 GMT 4 Apr 83

[Text] Beijing, 4 Apr (XINHUA)--Anti-nuclear demonstrations and rallies continued yesterday in Federal Germany, Britain, Italy, the Netherlands and Switzerland, for the third consecutive day in a sweeping anti-nuclear campaign in West Europe.

Some 200,000 people Sunday staged demonstrations in 10 cities in West Germany. In some places, the demonstrators blockaded local U.S. military bases. About 35,000 people rallied in Nuremberg where Nazi war crime trials were held and paraded with models symbolic of nuclear holocausts and banners bearing the word "peace." Some 21,000 people from the Ruhr region marched from Essen to Bochum in an anti-nuclear protest. In Neu Ulm, about 5,000 demonstrators formed a human chain around the four-km perimeter fence of the U.S. army's Wiley barracks. The police dragged away 200 demonstrators including a parliamentarian. In West Berlin, several hundred people attempted to blockade the passage of a U.S. military radar station. The organisers said about 500,000 people had taken part in the fresh Easter antinuclear campaign in the country.

In Britain, more than 2,000 demonstrators Sunday blockaded a submarine base and hung floral peace symbols and anti-nuclear slogans on barbed wires around the base. The demonstration was preceded by a similar one held in Greenham Common by 40,000 protesters.

In Italy, about 10,000 people marched in heavy rain Sunday to protest the nuclear arms race. More than 200 people in Sicily staged a demonstration protesting against the government's agreement to deploying cruise missiles on the island by the end of the year.

In Holland, an estimated 2,500 people, carrying flaming torches, marched to the three-nation-operated Urenco uranium enrichment plant Sunday to protest nuclear energy.

Several thousand Swiss and West German people held a peace demonstration today on the Swiss-West German border near Basle demanding the establishment of "a nuclear-free Europe."

West German Defense Minister Manfred Woerner said the anti-nuclear activities were "one-sided" and "beneficial not to peace but to the Soviets." British Prime Minister Mrs. Thatcher also made a speech against the anti-nuclear protests.

CSO: 4000/108



INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

TURKEY REAFFIRMS SUPPORT FOR NATO UNITY

OW042006 Beijing XINHUA in English 1842 GMT 4 Apr 83

[Text] Ankara, 4 Apr (XINHUA)--Turkish Foreign Minister Iltis Turkmen and Defense Minister Haluk Bayulken have stressed that Turkey remains faithful to the NATO and will work for its unity.

The two ministers' remarks, headlined by all major newspapers here today, came in their interviews with ANADOLU Agency yesterday on the eve of the 34th anniversary of the founding of the NATO organization.

Turkmen said that his country's relations with the NATO organization had reached an excellent level and Turkey had benefited from and given contribution to the common security of the NATO organization.

He said the above factors had made the relations between Turkey and the NATO organization more fruitful and healthy.

He pointed out that, despite the existence of disputes between Turkey and some of its NATO partners, the disputes would not hurt those factors.

"So long as no fundamental changes take place in the international situation, the existence of the NATO organization is highly necessary," he concluded.

Bayulken said that the overriding task is to modernize Turkey's armed forces in the shortest possible time but added that his country had never received enough military and technological assistance from its NATO allies.

He stressed the need for strengthening coordination and unity among NATO members.

CSO: 4000/108

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PLO DEMANDS INVESTIGATION OF WEST BANK POISONINGS

OW050846 Beijing XINHUA in English 0743 GMT 5 Apr 83

[Text] United Nations, 4 Apr (XINHUA)--The mass poisoning of Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied West Bank were a very serious crime against humanity, an act of genocide said deputy Permanent observer of the PLO Hatem Hussein at a "press conference" here today.

From March 20 to April 3, a total of 1,300 Palestinians in the West Bank--about 90 per cent of whom were schoolgirls--were affected by "poison gas," Hussein said.

When the plastic bags containing "yellow stuff" were found, Mr. Hussein said, the Israeli military surrounded the areas, confiscated the material and imposed a military curfew. A number of correspondents reporting on the incidents, including Western reporters, were detained and imprisoned.

He said those affected by the "yellow material" showed such symptoms as headache, general weakness, fainting, vomiting, dizziness and blurred vision. Some Palestinian doctors believed that the poison gas could sterilize women.

He pointed out these incidents were aimed at sowing fear among the Palestinian people and driving them out of their own land.

He stressed that the solution was to end the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories and let the Palestinian people live in freedom and peace.

Hussein urged the Security Council to send an independent team there to investigate the incidents without delay.

CSO: 4000/108

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### FRENCH GOVERNMENT WINS VOTE OF CONFIDENCE

OW080110 Beijing XINHUA in English 0104 GMT 8 Apr 83

[Text] Paris, 7 Apr (XINHUA)--Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy's newly-reshuffled government won a vote of confidence in the National Assembly (Lower House) today after eight-hour heated parliamentary debate over its new austerity program.

The vote was 323 in favor and 155 against. The ruling Socialist Party holds an absolute majority in the assembly.

The confidence vote was called at a time when the new government austerity program, announced last month, to solve the country's worsening economic problems had aroused strong opposition from citizens and opposition parliament members.

The austerity program includes an obligatory loan to the government by people paying more than 5,000 francs (700 U.S. dollars) a year in income tax, a new one percent tax on incomes for the social security programs, and restrictions on the amount of money that tourists can take out of the country to spend abroad.

Defending the package in a 90-minute speech before the vote, Mauroy said that as everyone will be affected (by the austerity measures), though at different degrees, the government will make every possible effort "to keep the purchasing power of the lowest income earners."

During the debate, leader of communist group in the assembly Andre Lajoie said he agrees with the government's aim, but it should make some amendments to the program, which would ease its effect on the least well-off by increasing taxes on wealth unrelated to work.

Observers here believed that since the government has won a parliamentary approval of its austerity program, it will, in the next step, ask for power from the assembly to put some measures into effect by decree.

CSO: 4000/108

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SPECIAL KUWAITI ENVOY TO PRC VIEWS IRAN-IRAQ WAR

OW080940 Beijing XINHUA in English 0729 GMT 8 Apr 83

[Text] Kuwait, 7 Apr (XINHUA)--Kuwaiti Minister of Cabinet Affairs 'Abd al-Aziz Husayn yesterday appealed to Iran to reconsider conditions for ending the Gulf war and to engage in direct peace negotiations with Iraq.

In a telephone interview with the United Arab Emirates (UAE) newspaper AL-KHALIJ, Husayn said the condition for ending the war is ripe because Iraqi forces have withdrawn into their own territory.

He said Kuwait has sent special envoys to China, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and the United States, the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, to convey a message from Kuwaiti Amir Sheikh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah and opinions of leaders of other Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) member countries on ending the Iran-Iraq war.

For the present, Kuwait will not send delegations to either Baghdad or Tehran, he added.

Upon his departure for Beijing this evening, special envoy Muhammed Zaid al-Herbish told XINHUA that Kuwait, other Gulf countries, China and other peace-loving countries in the world all hope to end the protracted war between Iran and Iraq.

He praised the friendly relations between Kuwait and China and the important role China plays in international affairs.

Kuwaiti special envoy to the Soviet Union and the United States arrived in Moscow on April 5. Amir al-Sabah's personal letters to Britain and France will be presented by the Kuwaiti ambassadors in London and Paris.

CSO: 4000/108

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PRC YOUTH FEDERATION EXPANDS OVERSEAS TIES

OW160500 Beijing XINHUA in English 1150 GMT 15 Apr 83

[Text] Beijing, 15 Apr (XINHUA)--The All-China Youth Federation in the past two years has sent 55 youth delegations abroad and received 161 youth delegations from other countries, federation vice-president Keyum Bawudun said here today.

Addressing an enlarged standing member meeting of the federation's fifth committee, he said A.C.Y.F. has established ties with youth organizations in more than 90 Third World countries.

A.C.Y.F., set up in May 1949, is composed of the Communist Youth League of China, the All-China Students Federation, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. of China as well as local youth federations.

It has been the policy of A.C.Y.F. since 1981 to step up its activities among minority nationalities, religious believers, intellectuals, overseas Chinese, compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao.

More than 30 tours around the country have been organized by A.C.Y.F. for minority young people in the past year and more, enhancing unity among various nationalities, the youth leader said.

In addition to helping young people teach themselves by setting up training classes, study groups and consultant centers, he said, Chinese youth organizations have also helped high school graduates with jobs and vocational training.

CSO: 4000/108



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### AFGHAN MUJAHEDIN FIGHT SOVIET-KARMAL TROOPS

OW162020 Beijing XINHUA in English 1924 GMT 16 Apr 83

[Text] Islamabad, 16 Apr (XINHUA)--The Mujahedin captured Tekab City, center of Kapisa region, on April 10 and two Soviets and 29 Afghan soldiers surrendered to the Mujahedin after the operation, according to a report received here.

Intense fighting between the Soviet-Karmal troops and Afghan Mujahedin took place recently in Kandahar, Samangan and other provinces of Afghanistan, resulting in heavy losses of the Soviet-Karmal military effectives, the PAKISTAN TIMES reported today.

From March 29 to April 2, there were six big clashes in and around Kandahar, the second largest city of Afghanistan. The Mujahedin attacked Karmal administration officials and destroyed 15 trucks loaded with military goods.

On March 29, the Mujahedin killed six persons belonging to the intelligence department of the Kabul regime who were travelling in a jeep at Pushtun Bagh in the city.

On March 31, the Mujahedin destroyed two tanks, one armored vehicle and a jeep of a Soviet-Karmal mobile squad in the above-said area and eliminated several enemy troops.

They also attacked a supply convoy coming from Herat the following day, destroying 15 trucks with rocket launchers and handgrenades.

The Afghanistan military camp in the southeastern part of Kandahar Province was attacked by the Mujahedin on March 31. At least five Soviet-Karmal troops were wiped out.

In the northern province of Samangan, the Mujahedin encountered with the Soviet forces four kilometers north of the provincial capital on April 1. During the six-hour fighting four tanks were destroyed and several Soviet-Karmal troops annihilated. On the next morning, a Soviet helicopter bombarded the area in retaliation, destroying dozens of houses, damaging the orchards and killing several hundred sheep and goats.

CSO: 4000/108

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SYMPOSIUM ON CONTINENTAL SHELF ENDS IN HANGZHOU

OW161259 Beijing XINHUA in English 1121 GMT 16 Apr 83

[Text] Hangzhou, 16 Apr (XINHUA)--An international symposium on sedimentation of the continental shelf, focusing on the East China Sea, closed here today.

Among the reports given by scientists from Britain, China, Holland and the United States Tuesday and Wednesday, the special report "Yangtze River Estuary and the Growth of a Submerged Delta" by Professor Chen Jiyu, aroused wide interest among symposium participants.

According to Professor Chen Jiyu, director of the Institute of Estuaries and Sea Coasts under the East China Teachers' University, there is a fan-shaped submerged delta at the estuary of the world's third largest river that covers an area of 10,000 square kilometers.

Sea coasts south of the Yangtze are extending one kilometer every 40 years, he said.

"The studies are very important to the choice of navigational routes and the development of tidal flats and marine farming," he said.

He said that the Chongming Island at the Yangtze estuary is going to be connected with the northern bank of the Yangtze. Its second generation--the Hengsha and Changxing sand bars--has already been formed and its third generation is taking shape.

Professor Ren Mei'e, dean of the geography faculty of the Nanjing University, dwelt on the model of China's tidal clay flats in a unique sedimentary environment, different from others.

According to Jin Qingming, the three-year-long joint investigation of the Yangtze estuary and continental shelves in its vicinity by Chinese and American scientists has made clear for the first time the movement of sediment and sedimentation at the Yangtze estuary and the morphology of the ancient Yangtze River Valley.

"This is of great significance to developing seabed oil and natural gas resources and the laying of seabed cables," he said.

British scientist I. N. McCave gave a report on sedimentation, re-floating and shifting of fine-grained sediment, and American scientist D.J.P. Swift delved into the sedimentation of the inland continental shelf on America's Atlantic coast.

"The reports are fairly high in academic level," commented Professor Ye Zhizheng, division member of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

Symposium participants Wednesday afternoon discussed in groups estuary hydrology, estuary chemistry and sedimentation and morphology of the continental shelf and estuary.

CSO: 4000/108

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SECOND CULTURAL DELEGATION SENT TO AFRICA

OW160345 Beijing XINHUA in English 0253 GMT 16 Apr 83

[Text] Beijing, 16 Apr (XINHUA)--A five-member Chinese cultural delegation headed by Chen Xinren, advisor to the Ministry of Culture, is scheduled to leave on April 19 for Guinea, Senegal, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Cameroon.

The Chinese delegation is expected to discuss with the cultural departments of these countries the way to further develop cultural exchange and cooperation during the visit.

This is the second cultural delegation the Chinese Government has sent to Africa within one month. The other delegation led by Zhu Muzhi, minister of culture, is on its tour to Egypt and Algeria.

China is strengthening cultural cooperation with other Third World countries. Exchanges of artists and art troupes between China and other Third World countries accounted to more than 50 percent of the items in China's cultural interflows with other countries at the governmental level.

Leaders of the Chinese cultural circles have maintained that China and many other Third World countries have rich cultural traditions and similar experiences in history and are confronted with the common task of developing national culture in their modernization drive. China needs to learn from the outstanding culture of these countries and believes that international cultural exchanges will promote the cultural development of various countries and strengthen mutual understanding and friendship among people of different nations.

CSO: 4000/108

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ARAB LEAGUE CRITICIZES SHULTZ REMARKS ON MIDEAST

OW170320 Beijing XINHUA in English 0308 GMT 17 Apr 83

[Text] Tunis, 16 Apr (XINHUA)--The spokesman of the Arab League secretariat in a statement here today criticized U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz for his April 12 remarks on the Middle East.

The statement said that Shultz' remarks were disappointing because he laid the blame totally on the Palestine Liberation Organization for destroying the best opportunity to restore justice, peace and security in the Middle East. "He kept silent to the fact that Israel has rejected Reagan's initiative and other peace plans," the statement said.

It said, "Arab countries which concern themselves with the realization of peace and justice believe it is time for the United States Government to take up "full responsibility in face of the instability in the Middle East and review its relations with the countries in this region and establish an equilibrium in consideration of justice and the Palestinian people's right to self-determination."

The Egyptian newspaper AL-AHRAM in an editorial today also criticized the U.S. Secretary of State for blaming PLO alone for hindering the peace process.

It said the responsibility of peace "is not confined to one party alone." "We cannot ask the PLO to accept everything and not require Israel to stop building settlements, pull back from Lebanon and declare its acceptance of the Reagan initiative," the editorial stressed.

CSO: 4000/108



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### MITTERRAND VIEWS EXPULSION OF SOVIET 'SPIES'

OW171312 Beijing XINHUA in English 1309 GMT 17 Apr 83

[Text] Geneva, 16 Apr (XINHUA)--French President Francois Mitterrand left here today after a two-day visit to Switzerland where he and Swiss leaders talked about economic and trade relations and other important international issues.

Bilateral trade between France and Switzerland has been unbalanced for years. In 1982, Swiss trade deficit against France reached 1.9 billion Swiss francs.

During the talks, Switzerland criticized France's protectionist trade policy in dealing with Swiss exports and France's recent controls for foreign travels that have brought great harm to Switzerland's tourist industry. The French side declared that the restrictive measures on foreign travels would be lifted at the end of this year.

Leaders of the two sides agreed on national independence and mutual respect for each other's sovereignty.

At a press conference held in Bern yesterday, Mitterrand said France had reservations on U.S. President Ronald Reagan's proposal that the forthcoming seven-nation summit should give priority to discussions on trade problems between East and West. There is no need to establish a "North Atlantic economic organization," he stressed.

On the expulsion of 47 Soviet spies by the French Government, Mitterrand warned that anyone who wanted to take a chance would come to the same end.

Mitterrand arrived in Switzerland on April 14 at the invitation of the Federal Council of Switzerland.

CSO: 4000/108

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FRG'S KOHL REITERATES MISSILE DEPLOYMENT DECISION

OW191501 Beijing XINHUA in English 1236 GMT 19 Apr 83

[Text] Bonn, 18 Apr (XINHUA)--New-type U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons would be deployed in the Federal Republic of Germany if the Soviet Union did not make any compromise in its talks with the United States on the limitation of medium-range nuclear arms.

This was reiterated by Federal German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in a press interview today.

Only when it was convinced of the West's resolve to carry out NATO's double-track decision would the Soviet Union be ready to participate in serious talks on the reduction of medium-range missiles in Europe, Kohl said.

On the Madrid follow-up meeting of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe, which will be resumed Tuesday, Kohl said he hoped the meeting would wind up as soon as possible so that a meeting on European disarmament would take place shortly.

On his planned trip to Moscow, Kohl said he would like to hold talks on all important questions with Soviet leaders at an early date in the coming summer. The Soviets should be made to understand through the disarmament talks that Federal Germany is part of the West and nothing can separate it from the Atlantic Alliance, he stressed.

CSO: 4000/108

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### POLAND MARKS DATE OF ANTI-NAZI JEWISH UPRISING

OW201016 Beijing XINHUA in English 0742 GMT 20 Apr 83

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Apr (XINHUA)--Thousands of people held rallies here today to mark a Jewish uprising which took place 40 years ago.

On April 19, 1943, about 70,000 Jewish residents in the capital's ethnic quarters took up arms in rebellion against the fascist German occupation of Poland and massacre of the Jewish people. After two months of bitter struggle, the uprising failed and tens of thousands of Jewish people were killed or thrown into concentration camps.

Speaking at the rally in the capital's Grand Theater, Wlodzimiers Sokorski, president of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, deeply mourned over the martyred Jewish fighters and said they will forever be entered in the annals of history of the Jewish people and people of the world for their actions to safeguard human dignity and national dignity.

Marshal of the Polish National Assembly Stanislaw Gucwa and Vice-Premier Miecyslaw Rakowski attended the rally.

Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, and representatives from Jewish organizations of the United States and some European countries also attended the meeting.

At noon, representatives of the country's social organizations and government institutions as well as Jewish delegations from other countries laid wreaths before the Jewish martyrs' monument in Warsaw's Jewish quarters.

To mark the occasion, an international seminar was held here April 14-17 on the brutalities of the Hitlerites in Poland and the rest of Europe.

Attracting historians, sociologists and legislators from 20 countries as well as representatives from international Jewish organizations, the seminar passed a document appealing to the world community to check resolutely the revival of fascism and Nazism.

Over the past few days, different kinds of activities were held to commemorate the Jewish victims of Nazi's mass massacre. According to local reports, during World War II, a total of 6 million Jewish were killed in Europe of which half were Polish Jews.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CSCE CONFERENCE RESUMES IN MADRID TO STUDY NEW PROPOSAL

OW201447 Beijing XINHUA in English 1421 GMT 20 Apr 83

[Text] Madrid, 19 Apr (XINHUA)--The Conference on European Security and Cooperation (CSCE) resumed here today, after a three-week break, to study the new proposal by European neutral and non-aligned countries for a final document to conclude the 30-month-long conference.

The European neutral and non-aligned countries made the proposal on March 15 calling for an end to the conference on April 27 and the start of a European disarmament conference in November and of a conference on human rights in May 1985 respectively. But the issue of human rights that Western countries demanded was not included in the proposal.

Speaking for EEC today, Federal Republic of Germany delegate Joerg Kastl said at the session that the proposal is not very satisfactory and "needs further improvements in some aspects."

U.S. delegate Max Kampelman told reporters that he was disappointed because the proposal was lacking on the improvement of the state of human rights.

Soviet delegate Anatoliy Kovalev said the new proposal was a basis on which final agreements could be reached. He accused some countries of voicing unacceptable demands in an attempt to delay the progress of the conference or change its direction.

Before the re-opening of the conference, six neutral and non-aligned countries issued an appeal, calling on the participating countries to make a decision on the final result of the CSCE conference.

Other participating countries also hoped that this round of the conference would be the last one.

CSO: 4000/108

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PLO LEADER 'ARAFAT MEETS ROMANIAN PRESIDENT

OW211433 Beijing XINHUA in English 1246 GMT 21 Apr 83

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Apr (XINHUA)--Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu yesterday joined the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Yasir 'Arafat in calling for a U.N.-sponsored or attended international conference on the Palestinian problem.

Shortly after his arrival here yesterday afternoon, PLO executive committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat met with the Romanian President. 'Arafat left here yesterday evening.

During the meeting, both leaders stressed the importance of holding such a conference. They said all parties concerned including Palestine and other countries should attend the conference and all solutions involving the interests of the Palestinian people should be made with the presence of the PLO or its representatives.

They pointed out that a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be obtained only after Israel pulls out its troops from the Arab territories it occupied since the 1967 Middle East war and only after the Palestinian problem is resolved on the basis of restoration to the Palestinian people of their rights to self-determination including the right to establish an independent Palestinian state.

Both leaders hold that in order to begin negotiations on solving the Middle East question this year, efforts should be increased through political and diplomatic channels.

They said the suggestions of the Fes Arab summit could be served as a good foundation for starting such negotiations to seek political solutions for the Middle East situation. Meanwhile, they held, other suggestions should also be taken into account.

They both pointed out that the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and their right to establish their own state and the establishment of Palestinian-Jordan confederation must be guaranteed.

CSO: 4000/108



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### EEC AGRICULTURE MINISTERS HOLD MEETING

OW212036 Beijing XINHUA in English 1840 GMT 21 Apr 83

[Text] Brussels, 21 Apr (XINHUA)--The EEC Council of Agriculture Ministers ended its 3-day hectic negotiations in Luxembourg today without reaching any agreement on the community's farm price rises for 1983-1984.

The meeting to fix guaranteed farm price levels was held amid fears that EEC farm spending could run out of control.

As the agriculture ministers began their talks, the EEC Commission suggested an average increase of 4.2 percent in farm prices, one of the lowest in ten years, to balance the budget and check the increasing spending on guaranteed prices and food export subsidies.

EEC farm spending for the first five months this year was running nearly a billion U.S. dollars over budget. The surplus milk, butter and cereals are likely to push total spending on guaranteed prices and food export subsidies up to between 15.5 and 16 billion U.S. dollars this year.

After tough negotiations, however, most governments only agreed on a 4.2 percent increase while others opposed the commission's suggestion, saying that the proposed increase is not sufficient.

The issue will be submitted to the EEC summit meeting in Stuttgart if the agriculture ministers fail again to find a settlement when they resume talks next week.

During the meeting, the taxes and subsidies on the trade in farm products between EEC countries were also discussed.

The taxes, termed as a monetary compensatory amount (MCA), are applied because of gaps between green currencies in different countries. After the recent realignment of currencies within the European monetary system, farm prices were shored up in weaker member countries, and strong currency countries needed export subsidies to ensure that their farmers can sell their products abroad.

As the ministers reached no agreement on this issue, French Agriculture Minister Michel Rocard attributed the failure of this meeting to Federal Germany's refusal to cut substantially the 13 percent tax currently applied on all its farm product imports. "We cannot accept ... that our exports are penalized," he added.

In addition to taxing imports, the MCA also acts as a subsidy on Federal German farm exports. This has angered farmers in France and Italy who say they cannot compete. Federal German Farm Minister Ignaz Kiechle, who chaired the meeting, rejected a compromise plan tabled by the European Commission for a staged three-point reduction in the tax.

CSO: 4000/108

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'CHINA DAILY' CAUTIONS WEST ON 'TEMPORARY' OIL GLUT

HK030216 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 3 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by Xu Ming, member of the Academic Board of the Institute of Industrial Economics of the Chinese Association of Social Sciences: "Too Early for West To Celebrate Oil Glut"]

[Text] The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) has reduced the price of oil to \$29 per barrel, and some analysts in big Western businesses predict that the price will drop further to \$25, \$20, or even \$15 per barrel. Some are expecting OPEC's influence to wane considerably. Others are beginning to calculate the effects of price cuts on recovery of Western economies. Still others worry that some countries' inability to repay debts will lead to further confusion in the present financial system.

There are two views common among Western countries in regard to the price cuts: the price of oil in the past few years was too high and OPEC was "extorting" money from the West, and the economic recession in the West is the main reason for the present oil glut. The latter view is acceptable while the former should be examined closely.

Even at its highest price, oil is still comparatively cheap energy. Without the continued economic recession in the West, the price cut would not have occurred.

Industrial countries with their political, economic and military advantages had exploited oil resources in some Third World countries without restraint and for a long time had forced oil prices down to absurdly low levels.

For quite some time, major oil companies have reduced the amount of oil they import from OPEC countries. In order to meet the need of consumption, they sold 6 to 8 million barrels of reserves every day. According to Western news agencies, reserves have reached unusually low levels. This means that the oil companies artificially created trouble to force down the price of oil.

The Soviet Union, which has always called itself "a natural ally" of the Third World, acted as an ally of the big oil companies in dealing with oil-producing countries. Last year, the Soviet Union increased its oil exports to Western Europe from 200,000 to 1,100,000 barrels per day. After OPEC dropped prices to \$29 a barrel, the Soviet Union immediately lowered its price to \$27.5 a barrel.

Contrary to conclusions made by some Western analysts, OPEC will not break up. Many leaders of Third World countries have become more aware of the severity of the situation and the importance of unity. During the price cut, some non-OPEC countries, like Mexico, actively cooperated with OPEC countries to form a united front.

Oil reserves are limited and there is no economically feasible substitute available, at least for the present. The present oil glut is temporary and, to a large extent, man-made. Therefore, it is too early for the West to celebrate.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

**HUNGARIAN AMITY GROUP**--Beijing, 21 Apr (XINHUA)--A four-member delegation from the Hungarian-Chinese friendship cooperative led by director Magyar Lajos arrived here this morning. The Hungarian delegation has come on a two-week visit at the invitation of the Huangtugang China-Hungary friendship people's commune. Han Boping, vice-mayor of Beijing, gave a dinner in honor of the Hungarian guests. Hungarian ambassador to China Ribanszki Robert was present on the occasion. [Text] [OW211952 Beijing XINHUA in English 1433 GMT 21 Apr 83]

**UK OFFICIAL TO USSR**--London, 19 Apr (XINHUA)--The British foreign office announced today that Malcolm Rifkind, a foreign office minister with responsibility for Eastern Europe and East-West relations, will visit the Soviet Union from April 24 to 29 for political consultations. He is due to have talks in Moscow with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Korniyenko, and then to visit Leningrad. Relations between Britain and the Soviet Union have been strained after a series of expulsions by both sides in the last three weeks. Foreign office sources expected there is to be a hard-headed and realistic dialogue with the Soviet Union. [Text] [OW200134 Beijing XINHUA in English 0115 GMT 20 Apr 83]

**CSCE APPEAL**--Moscow, 19 Apr (XINHUA)--Six European countries today appealed to Soviet leader Yuriy Andropov to quickly end the Madrid European security conference with positive results. This was contained in a letter to Soviet leader Yuriy Andropov from six neutral or non-aligned movement countries--Austria, Cyprus, Finland, San Marino, Sweden and Yugoslavia. The letter was presented today by five ambassadors of the six countries in Moscow to Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister G. Korniyenko and at the same time distributed to all participating countries of the Madrid conference. The marathon Madrid conference, which started September 9, 1980, is scheduled to resume today. So far it has yielded no result since both Moscow and Washington have insisted on their own stand. [Text] [OW192105 Beijing XINHUA in English 1649 GMT 19 Apr 83]

**ZIMBABWE INDEPENDENCE DAY**--Beijing, 18 Apr (XINHUA)--Zimbabwe ambassador to China Gabriel Phineas Chisese and Mrs. Chisese gave a reception here this afternoon on the occasion of the third anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Zimbabwe. Among the guests at the reception were Peng Chong, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Gong Dafei, vice-foreign minister. Diplomatic envoys of various countries to China were also present. [Text] [OW182343 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 18 Apr 83]



SPRY PRESIDENT VISITS HUNGARY--Budapest, 31 Mar (XINHUA)--Yugoslavia and Hungary today expressed readiness to further promote their relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence. This was expressed in a joint communique issued today at the end of a three-day visit of President Petar Stambolic of Yugoslavia to Hungary. The two countries were gratified to note that, as a result of mutual efforts, the goodneighbourliness and political-economic, cultural cooperation of the two countries was developing fruitfully. They stressed their firm resolve to make further efforts to develop cooperation, including endeavours to develop new and higher forms of economic cooperation. Referring to international issues, the two countries pointed out that the arms race is the greatest threat to peace and security in the world and to cooperation between countries based on the principles of peaceful co-existence. They noted that the nonaligned movement is an important factor of international life. During his stay here, Petar Stambolic held talks with Hungarian President of the Presidential Council Pal Losonczi and first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Janos Kadar. [Text] [OW011236 Beijing XINHUA in English 1122 GMT 1 Apr 83]

ISRAELI PROVOCATION CONDEMNED--Tunis, 31 Mar (XINHUA)--Arab League Secretary General Chadli Klibi today condemned Israel's attack on Syrian forces in Lebanon. In a statement issued here, Klibi pointed out, "Israel's invasion of al-Biqa' constitutes a grave provocation. The attacks are undoubtedly a prelude to a likely new offensive and an indication that Israel is not planning to withdraw from Lebanon unconditionally." "The serious Israeli provocation constitutes a new danger to peace in the Middle East and it is the duty of the Security Council to end this situation," he stressed. He called on the international community to intensify efforts to force Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon and other occupied Arab territories. It was reported that under the pretext of ambushing "the Palestinian guerrillas in hiding," Israeli troops attacked Syrian forces in al-Biqa' on March 29 and 30. Besides, the Israeli Air Force made reconnaissance flights over al-Biqa' and south Lebanon on March 30. [Text] [OW012057 Beijing XINHUA in English 1643 GMT 1 Apr 83]

TURKEY SUPPORTS U.S. PROPOSAL--Ankara, 1 Apr (XINHUA)--"We regard the new proposals by U.S. President Reagan on medium-range nuclear missiles as positive," Turkish Foreign Ministry spokesman Nazmi Akiman announced here yesterday. Akiman said that Turkey sees the U.S. offer as a "constructive contribution" to efforts to reach a solution acceptable to all sides at the Geneva talks before the end of the year. Turkey attaches utmost importance to halting the arms race and lowering the ceiling of military balance, he added. Turkey, as a NATO member state, has always supported U.S. proposals for an agreement at the U.S.-Soviet negotiations in Geneva. [Text] [OW011723 Beijing XINHUA in English 1128 GMT 1 Apr 83]

U.S. MILITARY BASES BLOCKED--Bonn, 1 Apr (XINHUA)--About 10,000 demonstrators blocked entrances to six U.S. military bases and staged scattered marches today at the start of a four-day nation-wide Easter peace protests. In the southern town of Neu Ulm, police used tear gas and dogs to drive the protesters away from a U.S. army barrack. About 1,500 people blocked an

entrance to a U.S. army camp at Kellinghusen, in northern West Germany. At Datteln, near Dortmund, about 400 protesters blocked the main entrance to a North Atlantic Treaty Organization missile site. Organizers of the peace movement said about 1,000 protesters started marching from the university town of Marburg to a U.S. army base near Frankfurt and were expected to join in parades from other towns in central West Germany on Saturday. A similar march began in Munich today while hundreds of marchers were heading for a weekend demonstration in Mainz in the southwestern state of Rheinland Pfalz. Organizers said that about half a million people were expected to participate in 90 peace marches which would be at full strength Sunday and Monday. They will be held in local points in Frankfurt, Cologne, Munich, Stuttgart, Hamburg and Nuremberg. [Text] [OWO21148 Beijing XINHUA in English 1107 GMT 2 Apr 83]

HUSAYN, 'ARAFAT MEET--Beijing, 3 Apr (XINHUA)--King Husayn of Jordan discussed the Middle East issue with Yasir 'Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, at two rounds of talks in Amman yesterday, according to reports from that city. PLO officials described the talks as "positive," but Jordanian officials had no immediate comment. One key point believed to be on their discussions was whether 'Arafat would authorize King Husayn or a joint delegation made up of Jordanian officials and Palestinians with no official ties with the PLO to attend negotiations on an overall Middle East peace settlement. The U.S. administration has suggested this as a means of overcoming Israel's refusal to sit at the table with the PLO. PLO deputy commander Khalil Wazir said after the meeting between Husayn and 'Arafat: "We are depending on the Fes resolutions. We are discussing from this base." A PLO spokesman said that the Jordanian-Palestinian committee, composed of Jordanian ministers and PLO officials, would meet today. 'Arafat arrived in Amman on March 31. [Text] [OWO30850 Beijing XINHUA in English 0717 GMT 3 Apr 83]

U.S. ARMS PROPOSAL--London, 2 Apr (XINHUA)--British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym tonight criticized the Soviet Union for rejecting the U.S. proposals for an interim agreement on intermediate-range nuclear weapons. He described in a statement as "totally untrue and deliberately misleading" the view expressed by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko that U.S. President Reagan's offer would have left the West with twice as many nuclear warheads in Europe as the Soviet Union. Pym also refuted Gromyko's claim that Soviet intermediate-range missiles aimed at Asia could not be taken into account in the Geneva talks. The British secretary went on to point out that "the SS-20 is a highly mobile system which could be quickly transported from the Soviet Far East and targeted on Europe." He added: "The NATO allies have absolutely no wish to see the threat posed by these terrifying weapons transferred to their friends in Asia." Pym expressed the hope that the Soviet Union's response was not its last word on the subject. [Text] [OWO30246 Beijing XINHUA in English 0232 GMT 3 Apr 83]

ANTINUCLEAR DEMONSTRATIONS--Beijing, 3 Apr (XINHUA)--Mass rallies and demonstrations were held yesterday in West Germany, Britain and the Netherlands for peace and against East and West arms race, particularly the planned deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe. More than 10,000 people reportedly met in Duisburg, West Germany, yesterday to protest against nuclear armament. Later, the protesters marched to Oberhausen and Essen, holding aloft placards and balloons. Among the marchers were some Bundeswehr soldiers. In Kiel, West Germany, Social Democratic (SPD) Bundestag member Heide Simonis told 1,000 demonstrators at a meeting that West Germany was an equal partner of NATO, not a country at Ronald Reagan's beck and call. In Britain's Glasgow, about 4,000 demonstrators lay down in a city square and feigned death yesterday in a protest against plans to deploy U.S. cruise missiles in Britain. The "mass die-in" was part of Easter protests against the arms race. Similar demonstrations were held in the Netherlands against NATO's plan to deploy new nuclear missiles in Europe. [Text] [OW031204 Beijing XINHUA in English 1121 GMT 3 Apr 83]

WEST BANK POISONINGS--United Nations, 4 Apr (XINHUA)--The United Nations Security Council today requested Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to inquire into cases of mass poisoning on the occupied West Bank and report the findings concerning the causes and effects of the cases. The request was made this evening by Jeane Kirkpatrick in her capacity as the president of the Council for the Month of April following informal consultations within the council on the problem. On March 31, Iraq, on behalf of the Arab group, asked for an urgent meeting of the council to discuss the serious cases of mass poisoning affecting about 1,000 Palestinian school girls in the West Bank occupied by Israel. Iraq also requested the council to call on Israel to protect the Palestinian people in the occupied Arab territories in accordance with relevant international laws. [Text] [OW050840 Beijing XINHUA in English 0716 GMT 5 Apr 83]

KARL MARX COMMEMORATIVE SEMINAR--Berlin, 11 Apr (XINHUA)--Representatives from over 100 parties and organizations of communists, nationalists and social democrats and liberation movements started here today a seminar commemorating Karl Marx, the founder of the proletarian revolution. The seminar will conduct extensive dialogues to exchange views on Marxism and discuss issues concerning peace and social progress. The seminar is one of a series of activities organized by the German Socialist Unity Party to commemorate the centenary of Marx' death and 165th anniversary of his birth. Party General Secretary Erich Honecker opened the six-day seminar with a long speech. [Text] [OW120408 Beijing XINHUA in English 1441 GMT 11 Apr 83]

USSR IN CENTRAL AMERICA--Mexico City, 14 Apr (XINHUA)--Spanish Foreign Minister Fernando Moran said yesterday that the Contadora group foreign ministers' proposal is the only way to the realization of peace in Central America. Mr. Moran made this statement upon his arrival here yesterday evening for a three-day official visit. He told reporters that the United States and the Soviet Union should not interfere in the conflicts of the region. He said Spain is not prepared to get involved in the peace process of Central America

because this is entirely an affair of Latin America. But he added his country will spare no effort to give support at any risks if such support is needed. The road taken by the Contadora group foreign ministers is the most feasible and constructive one to solve the Central American problems peacefully, the Spanish foreign minister noted. He also said it will be more difficult to solve the problems if the two superpowers are involved. [Text] [OW151411 Beijing XINHUA in English 1330 GMT 15 Apr 83]

PAKISTANI DESTROYER TO SHANGHAI--Shanghai, 13 Apr (XINHUA)--Pakistani's destroyer "Tariq" with more than 350 officers and men on board was welcomed here this afternoon by commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army naval units stationed in Shanghai. "Tariq" is the first naval vessel from Pakistan to visit China. Shen Peihua, commander of the naval units in Shanghai, hosted a banquet in honor of the guests from Pakistan. Maqbool Ahmad Bhatti, Pakistan ambassador to China, and Captain Taj Mohammad, naval attache of the Pakistan Embassy, were present. [Text] [OW132032 Beijing XINHUA in English 1613 GMT 13 Apr 83]

SPANISH-U.S. DEFENSE ACCORD--Madrid, 21 Apr (XINHUA)--Spain's Congress of Deputies yesterday voted overwhelmingly in favor of ratifying the Spain-U.S. defense and cooperation accord. The vote in the 350-seat lower house of Spain's parliament was 249 in favor, nine against with seven abstentions. The accord, signed by the last government in July 1982, originally allowed the United States to use air bases at Madrid, Zaragoza and Seville, and the naval base at Rota near the mouth of the Mediterranean. After taking office, the Socialist Workers' Party signed an additional protocol to the accord last February to revise the terms concerning the integration of Spain's armed forces with the NATO military command structure. During the debate in the lower house, Foreign Minister Fernando Moran said the revised accord can help guarantee Spain's territorial integrity. [Text] [OW211356 Beijing XINHUA in English 1334 GMT 21 Apr 83]

CONGOLESE ENVOY--Beijing, 15 Apr (XINHUA)--Jean Claude Ganga, new ambassador of the People's Republic of the Congo to China, presented his credentials here today to Ulanhu, vice-chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee. Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Gong Defei was present on the occasion. [Text] [OW151345 Beijing XINHUA in English 0837 GMT 15 Apr 83]

CSO: 4000/108



## PARTY AND STATE

### LECTURES ON NEW PARTY CONSTITUTION PRESENTED

#### Lecture 12

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Dec 82 p 4

[Article: "The 12th Lecture: The Party Grassroots Organizations"]

[Text] The grassroots organizations of the party are the Party's branches, main branches, and grassroots committees. They are the foundation of the Party. They also are the bridges and links between the party's leading bodies and the masses. The line, principles, policies and duties of the party must go through these organizations to reach the masses and be realized. The masses' opinions, demands, and ideological moods also are reflected to the party's leading bodies through these organizations. Therefore, the construction of good grassroots organizations is very important in strengthening the party's leadership and in starting a new situation in socialist modernization.

The new party constitution has stipulated eight tasks for the grassroots organizations. It reflects the special characteristics of this age and raises stricter demands for the grassroots organizations. Most of its content is to propagate and implement the party's line, principles and policies, and to educate, organize and supervise party members and cadres in carrying out their duties and in fully demonstrating their abilities. The specially added regulations are: "to educate and administer party members, rigorously enforce the party's organizational life, supervise party members in carrying out their duties and observing regulations, and protect party members' rights from being violated." "Protect the masses' rights and interests and care for and help them improve their material and cultural life." "Fully display the initiative and creativity of party members and the masses; discover the advanced elements and people in the masses who are needed in socialism, encourage and support them to improve their work, conduct innovation and creativity." These are measures to determine whether or not the grassroots organizations possess fighting power. All grassroots organizations should often check to see if they have accomplished these objectives. If not, they should strive to accomplish them.



The Party must administer the Party. This is a strict demand for the grassroots organizations set in the new party constitution. This is a most basic task. This regulation is the foundation and premise of fulfilling the other seven tasks.

Leading members of the party's grassroots organizations must be consciously aware of strengthening the concept of the party, and try to overcome the party not administering the party phenomenon. They must sincerely devote their energy to their party work, strengthen party member education and better the qualities of party members and the daily life within the Party. In order to achieve these objectives, party members must be taught Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, basic knowledge concerning the Party, the way to be a communist party member, and the Party's line, principles, and policies. Their ideological and political consciousness should also be constantly enhanced. Simultaneously, party members should be organized and supervised to study science, labor technology, and business knowledge so as to become experts. Leading members of the party's grassroots organizations must rigorously enforce the day-to-day activities of the organizations and teach every party member, regardless of his position, to accept the party's supervision and to help each other fulfill duties and to become a qualified party member. At the same time, party members' democratic rights must be respected, so that they will feel that they are the party's masters, and feel the warmth of the organization. The advanced must be praised, mistakes must be criticized. People violating the laws and regulations must be seriously judged. [The Party] must distinguish between right and wrong and between reward and punishment.

In this context, we have to specify the 7th duty of the grassroots organizations: "Educate and supervise party members, cadres and all other workers in observing the laws, economic regulations and personnel system of the country, and educate them not to take advantages of the country, collective, or the masses. Supervise your unit's accountants, executives and professional workers responsible to execute the laws so they do not violate the laws, while they must, at the same time, be able to exercise their work independently in a lawful way without being attacked or avenged." Just like comrade Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2606] said, this special regulation not only exactly manifests the present situation, but also will bear significant meanings to the fight against crime activities in the economic sector, the basic beneficial change in the Party and societal situation, and the persistence of socialist direction within party and governmental organizations and enterprises units within this new historical period. Every grassroots organization must earnestly carry it out.

The new party constitution also has set up new regulations for the grassroots organizations concerning their system of leadership and the way for them to correctly handle the relationship between the party and the government. These regulations are an important improvement in the construction of grassroots organizations.

A long existing common problem in the grassroots organizations is the failure of separating party work from government work. Every matter, regardless of its importance, is decided by party committees. Responsible administrators

can hardly exercise their own functions and powers. This situation not only weakens the administrative system, but also involves the party committees in daily administrative tasks. In this way, party committee members can neither concentrate on carrying out party work nor grasp the important party's principles. In the face of this situation, the new party constitution has assigned different regulations concerning the functions of the two different grassroots party organizations, which are different in nature. The first group includes party grassroots committees within enterprise units, and the general branch committees or branch committees without grassroots organizations. These bodies must perform the leading role in work within their units because in order to carry out party principles and policies and to accomplish the duties in these units, strong leadership by the party is essential. Before the reform of the communal system, the party branches of rural production brigades were also the leading nuclei for different tasks. Under the leadership of the party grassroots organizations within these enterprise units, the general branches or other branches are only responsible for the production duty and business work of their units unless otherwise specified. The other group consists of grassroots party organizations within different levels of leadership bodies which do not lead the work of these bodies. This is because the leadership body is the institution for carrying out its executive-level work for its department. The leadership bodies are responsible to their own higher authorities. Their duties, while not restricted within their own units, include the supervision of their department's work and various activities and the supervision of their lower level's work. However, the activities of the party organization within the unit is restricted within the unit. They do not have the authority to supervise work of the lower level units outside their own unit. Nevertheless, it must supervise the party members, including the one in charge of the execution and administration, in their carrying out of the party's line, principles and policies, in their observance of discipline and laws; in their contact with the masses and in their having good work style and moral character. They must also help the administrative leadership to improve their work, raise the work efficiency, overcome bureaucratism, and report the unit's shortcomings and problems at work to the administrators or to the higher level party organizations.

Right now, many industrial and mining enterprises and commercial enterprises are in the process of reform. Party organizations within these units must seriously study and practice these regulations set by the new party constitution. They must study and practice the "regulations" set by the central committee concerning the grassroots organizations within industrial and commercial enterprises, and try hard to carry out the objective of separating party work from government work.

### Lecture 13

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jan 83 p 4

[Article: "The 13th Lecture: Pertaining to the Party's Cadres"]

[Text] "Party Cadres" is a new chapter in the new party constitution. Party cadres at all levels, besides carrying out their duties as party members in an exemplary way, must also have six basic qualifications.

Compared with the duties required of party members, these qualifications are far more demanding, have stronger aims, and are the party's basic principle to have both ability and political integrity to form a practice under this new historical condition.

The party has put forward very strict demands for the cadres. The nature of these demands are determined by the cadre's function and position. The 12th National Party Congress has raised the guiding principles of the struggle for constructing a new situation of socialism. This is a very difficult task. Whether or not we can shoulder this historical mission depends on the leading groups of different strata and party cadres at all levels. If our party does not have a large group of cadres who know Marxism-Leninism, who have political foresight, working capability, professional standard, and the abilities to transform the party's line, principles, and policies into a conscious action and struggle for it, the Four Modernizations can never be realized, and the great goal set forth in the 12th National Party Congress will never be attained. Therefore, the strict demands for the cadres set in the new party constitution are what the party cause and the construction of the Four Modernizations need.

Then, what should we, the party cadres, do to meet the party's demand? The most important thing is to unconditionally act in unison with the party's central committee politically. At present, we should conscientiously study the documents of the 12th National Party Congress, and try to understand its spirit and letter. We should actively propagate and practice the line, principles and policies raised in the 12th National Party Congress and combine work reality and production practice. Simultaneously, we must actively begin to struggle with those wrong ideas and opinions which misunderstand or attack the party's line, principles and policies, so as to carry out the demands of "correctly carry out the line, principle and policies of the Party" set by the new party constitution.

Party cadres must not forget that their duty is to serve the masses and be public servants at all times. Party cadres must maintain close ties with the masses and correctly implement the Party's mass line. Party cadres must never separate themselves from the masses or ride over them. They must think what the masses think and worry about what the masses worry about; be concerned with the people's difficulties and help to solve problems encountered in production, work, study and daily life; set an example by observing and protecting the rules and regulations of the state and the Party; and never be proud of only themselves, pursue luxuries, or indulge in extravagance. Furthermore, one must never misuse one's power to take advantage of the state and the people in order to benefit oneself, one's family, relatives, or friends. Party cadres must constantly prohibit themselves from becoming "masters of society" instead of "servants of society".

As the new party constitution points out that (cadres) must "have the organizational ability, educational level and professional knowledge to be leaders in their work," party cadres are expected to have high qualifications not only in politics, but also in their work. Socialist modernization is a great and unprecedented event. In order to shoulder the great

responsibility of leading the construction of socialist modernization, party cadres must have real knowledge and deep insight because decades of experience is no longer sufficient for the tasks. Even if one is more than willing to contribute to the construction of socialism, one would not be able to achieve much without professional knowledge and the eagerness to learn. For example, on the industrial battleline, many cadres cannot penetrate the field of production and technology although they go to workshops, plants, and the very core because they lack technological know-how and modern administrative experience. Instead, they can only listen to reports, watch the way the production is conducted, and observe the labor situation. As a result, they cannot organize and lead production with proficiency. If this situation continues, two conditions will surface. The first is that the cadres will think that they are leading when actually they are being led. They cannot give accurate judgment in solving problems, but can only act according to other people's opinions. The second one is that they pretend that they know everything when they really do not know anything. They give out orders blindly and, as a result, violate economic order and lead to great loss in the business. This situation has already seriously affected progress in the building of Four Modernizations. Recently, the central committee repeatedly emphasized that in order to educate professionals needed in the socialist modernization, the education and training of cadres must be greatly strengthened. It stipulated that each cadre must leave his job once every several years to study for a length of time. Each cadre is obliged to accept the party's training and try hard to raise his abilities. A lax, casual, indifferent, or nonchalant attitude towards study is unacceptable. A serious attitude is necessary not only during the regular study period, but at other times as well. [We] must grasp the time to study theory, administration, science, and technology; strive to be both red and expert, and as quickly as possible become an all-round professional in one's own field.

The new party constitution has pointed out the direction where the cadres at all levels should struggle. We, the cadres, must strictly observe the regulations set by the new party constitution concerning cadres, and think and retrospect carefully whether or not our own ideas and behavior meet the demands of having both ability and political integrity, and whether or not we can meet the needs required in the construction of the socialist modernization. Then, we must sum up the experience and lesson and adopt and practice effective measures. Party organizations at all levels must also strengthen the cadres' training as well as examination and assessment of their work, investigation of cadres, appoint people on their merits, and try hard to make the cadre group younger, more revolutionary, more professional and more knowledgeable.

#### Lecture 15

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Feb 83 p 4

[Article: "The 15th Lecture: Pertaining to the Relationship Between the Party and the Communist Youth League"]

[Text] The new party constitution points out: "The Communist Youth League of China is a mass organization of advanced young people under the leadership



of the Communist Party of China; it is a school where a large number of young people will learn about communism through practice; it is the Party's assistant and reserve force." These words clearly summarize the organizational nature of the Communist Youth League and correctly explain the relationship between the party and the Communist Youth League.

The Communist Youth League of China is constructed under the nurturing of the Communist Party of China. The party is the organizer and leader of the Communist Youth League. Being the party's assistant and reserve force, the Communist Youth League must firmly adhere to the party's line, principles and policies. It must persist in using communism to educate the youth and, through practical work, firmly protect the party's centralized leadership. From the Central Committee down to grassroots organizations, the Youth League must politically adhere to the party's line and at the same time organizationally accept the centralized and unified leadership of party organizations on different levels. The League's Central Committee must accept the leadership of the Party's Central Committee. The League's local organizations must accept the leadership of the Party Committees at corresponding levels and also of the upper level organizations of the League itself.

Several decades of practice have proved that the persistence of the party's leadership over the League has led to a firm and correct political direction of the youth movement, and the work of the League has been active and encouraging as a result. The party's leadership is the Communist Youth League's life line. Party committees of every level should never neglect to strengthen the party's leadership over the League. The League's work should never be viewed as non-essential. Instead, it should be included into the party committee's program discussion. How can the party committees at all levels strengthen their leadership over the Communist Youth League and construct it into the nucleus of uniting and educating youth? Politically, party committees at all levels should help the League in educating the youth to adhere to the four basic principles and to heighten the consciousness of performing the Party's line, principles and policies in a thorough and firm manner. Ideologically, communism must be used to educate youth. Everything concerning the Party must be done from a practical viewpoint. Theory must be linked with practice, and ideological line must be practical and realistic. Organizationally, the principle of democratic centralism must be insisted and the party's unity must be protected. The League's work must be subject to the party committee's leadership. The party's organizational line must be insisted upon and be applied in selecting cadres and leading members for the League. Work-wise, work must be arranged around the party's central task. Youth's special characteristics must be looked after and the committees should constantly guide the League in its direction, teach them methods, assign them tasks, and check and discuss the League's work. In regard to the relationship between the Party and the Communist Youth League, the new party constitution has added a new regulation as follows: "Those secretaries of the League committees, at or below the county level or in enterprises and institutions, who are Party members may attend meetings of party committees at the corresponding levels and of their standing committees as non-voting participants." Thus, the long

existing close relationship between the Party and the League is resumed. And, through the organizational principle, the Party's leadership over the Communist Youth League is strengthened. All these help the party committee members to understand directly the League's work and enable them to issue instructions at the right time concerning the League's policies and principles, and the League's methods to cultivate youth's goal. These also help the League's cadres to understand the important events of the party and the state, and learn the good tradition of the party. This close relationship also enables the party to inspect and understand the ideas, work attitudes, and work capabilities of the League's cadres, thus putting into full effect the policy of training young cadres in an organizational system. While strengthening the party's leadership over the Communist Youth League, it is also necessary to watch out and guard against too much interference with the League's work so as to create a "party takes over" phenomenon. The party must firmly support the Communist Youth League's work in judging the special characteristics and needs of the youth, perform its work in an active and creative way, and fully bring into play the relationship between the functions of the League's shock brigade and the bridge link of the mass youth. Therefore, in strengthening the leadership of the League, party committee members at all levels should also sincerely pay attention to youth's various special requests and be concerned with the youngsters' personal questions. Youth is the period of physical and mental growth. A person's world outlook is also formed in this period. Youth have many characteristics and requests different from that of an adult or older person. We should pay attention to and study the political ideological condition of the youth nowadays and the contradictions faced by them, and then realistically determine our work principles and attitudes to meet with the needs of their situation. Enthusiasm and initiative of the Communist Youth League's cadres should be protected, and the League should be allowed to expand their own independent activities through practice.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'ZHEXUE YANJIU' DISCUSSES PRACTICE AS TEST OF COMMUNISM

HK251041 Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU in Chinese No 2, 25 Feb 83 pp 4-8

[Article by Ma Junqi [7456 0193 0796] of the editorial department of the "Xin Chang Zhen" ("New Long March") of the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee: "The Practice of the Communist System and Its Test of Communist Theory"]

[Text] Abstract: In light of the theory of development of materialist dialectics and the basic facts of the communist movement since Marx, this article refuted erroneous ideas, such as "communism has not been tested in practice" and emphatically expounded: Truth is a system and practice is a process; the realization of the communist system and the test of scientific communist theory by practice is a historical process which is completed by stages and step by step; this process of practice has undoubtedly tested and verified and is continuing to test and verify the historical necessity which was brought to light by this theory of Marx and the practicalness of the theory on the process of development of the communist system; to have firm faith in communism, it is necessary to do away with metaphysical ideas in the outlook on practice and truth. [end abstract]

In the discussion on the question of the criterion of truth, some people advanced an idea like this: Communism is a truth but communism has not been tested in practice. It can thus be seen that truth should not necessarily be tested by practice. Other people argued: The communist movement is an objective fact but the communist system has not yet been practiced and is therefore dim and remote. Although they are different in wording, these two ideas have posed before us an important theoretical question which must be promptly answered: How should we understand the practice of the communist system and its test of communist theory? Quite evidently, only when we furnish a scientific and convincing answer to this question, can we uphold the dialectical materialist outlook on practice and truth and can we, in theory, thoroughly smash the "theory that communism is dim and remote."

#### I

To acquire a correct understanding of the test of the communist theory by practice, first of all, we must approach the practice of the communist system in a dialectical and not a metaphysical way.

Materialist dialectics holds that things develop forward as a process. If we recognize that things are in motion and that motion is the unity of discontinuity and continuity, we have to recognize that all things constitute a process.

Those people who argue that the communist system has not been put into practice merely regard the communist system as an ideal social formation but neglect that this ideal social formation emerges and develops as a process. In other words, they understand the practice of the communist system only in the sense of its ultimate completion rather than understanding it in the sense of its pregnancy, emergence, development and gradual perfection. This argument runs counter to Marxism-Leninism and flies in the face of historical objective facts. Proceeding from objective facts, Marxism-Leninism "regards history as the process of development of mankind." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 28) And then it proceeds to consider the brand new communist system as a historical process ranging from being in the state of pregnancy to coming into existence, from lower to higher and from immature to mature. Marx pointed out: "What we have to deal with here is a communist society, not as it has developed on its own foundation, but, on the contrary, just as it emerges from capitalist society." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 10) Lenin highly appraised this important idea of Marx as being highly valuable. He said: "The great significance of Marx' explanations is that here, too, he consistently applies materialist dialectics, the theory of development, and regards communism as something which develops out of capitalism." "What is usually called socialism was termed by Marx the "first or lower, phase of communist society." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 25, p 457) Moreover, "Communism is the highest stage in the development of socialism." (Ibid, Vol 30, pp 174-175) In this way, the scientific communist theory has wholly brought to light the whole historical process of the communist system, a process ranging from the state of pregnancy to emergence, development and maturity of the communist system.

Historically, the maturity of any social system has to follow a process of development and perfection. The mature feudal society was the outcome of the prolonged development of the feudal relations of production in slave society. This process, whether in China or in Europe, underwent several hundred years of history. From the emergence of the seeds of capitalism in the last phase of feudal society to the establishment and consolidation of the capitalist system, all countries have gone through a fairly long process of development. If the past systems of exploitation developed and matured in this way, how can we imagine that an entirely new social system characterized by the replacement of the private ownership system by the public ownership system can reach the goal in one step without undergoing a process of development? As we know, there has been communist movement since the birth of the communist party and the communist movement and the communist system are inseparable. In fact, the communist system does not take shape at one stroke at the end of the movement. The communist movement will invariably in its process of development create systems which conform with the level and degree of its own development. The first

proletarian political power in the international communist movement--the Paris Commune--in which leadership by the party of the working class had not existed failed to consciously take scientific socialism as the guide (this was the main reason for its inevitable failure) but it instinctively established its own systems and carried out the mass general election unprecedented in history. Restricted by historical conditions, the Paris Commune did not practice socialism; however, it was still worthy of the name of "the brilliant forerunner of the new society." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 399) New systems which suited the local conditions at that time were also established in China's Jinggang Mountains, Yennan and other revolutionary bases and among them there was no lack of valuable socialist elements and communist factors. In this sense, we can say that the communist system as a process begin to take shape very early.

In order to have a clearer picture of the process of development of the communist system, it is necessary to restate the relationship between socialism and communism. When the doctrine of scientific socialism (being also called scientific communism) had just come out, Marx and Engels did not make a clear distinction between the two concepts of socialism and communism. They were used to describe the ideal socialist system under which the public ownership system replaces the capitalist private ownership system. Later on, to explain this new society, that is, "the stages of the economic maturity of communism," ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 25, p 457) in his "Critique of the Gotha Program," Marx advanced the proposition of the "first" phase (that is, the primitive or lower phase) and higher phase of communism. Subsequently, under new historical conditions, Lenin made a further distinction between these two phases of development with varying degrees of maturity and used the noun socialism as a special-use term to describe the first phase of communism and communism to refer what is usually called the higher phase of communism. This definition of Marx and Lenin does not mean "meaningless disputes over words" (What is socialism? What is communism?) (Ibid, Vol 25, p 457) but instead it quite thoroughly reveals the development by stages and continuity as well as the differences and identity the phases of communism--this unified social system--in its process of development. It tells us: On the one hand, in terms of maturity, the distinction between socialism and communism is clear; this distinction finds expression mainly in areas such as the vast gap in degree between material and spiritual civilization and the difference in the principles of distribution. If we fail to clearly find out the distinct difference between the two, we will be unable to have a clear picture of the orientation of the continued reform, development and perfection of socialist society and will possibly mix the two different phases of development and even commit the error of "moving on to communism by marching at the double" which some localities made in 1958. On the other hand, socialist society constitutes, after all, a phase in the process of development of the communist system, in terms of being the opposite of capitalist society and all systems of exploitation, socialism and communism fall into one and the same social system, that is, the entirely new social

system under which exploitation has been abolished and the means of production have been publicly owned. Just as imperialism still falls into the category of capitalism, although it is the highest stage of capitalism, socialism still falls into the category of communism, although it is the primitive phase of communism and only immature and incomplete communism. Just as Lenin said: "Insofar as the means of production become common property, the word "communism" is also applicable here, providing we do not forget that this is not complete communism." (Ibid, Vol 25, p 457) Therefore, the distinction between socialism and communism is a distinction embodied in the different stages of development of one and the same social system and a distinction in the level of development and maturity. If we magnify in quality this distinction, we can hardly see clearly the progressiveness and superiority of the socialist system or profoundly understand the great historical significance of the establishment of the socialist system and we can artificially put up an unbridgeable gap between the two stages of development. We cannot say that the reason some people lack confidence in the final victory of communism is not unconnected with this erroneous understanding.

If we are clear about the relationship between socialist and communist society, we will already have a clear picture of the rough sketch of the whole process of development of the communist society. The General Program of the New Party Constitution adopted by the 12th CPC Congress points out: "The development and improvement of the socialist system is a long historical progress." The process of the development and improvement of the socialist system is also the process of the primitive phase of communism gradually approaching its higher phase. The day when the stage of development of socialist society terminates will be the day when the primitive phase of communism will advance into the higher phase of development of communism.

## II

The test of the communist theory by practice is also historically and gradually completed by stages.

Regarding the communist social system as a historical process is the outstanding mark differentiating scientific socialism from utopian socialism. Socialist theory before Marx was a daydream because it was based on historical idealism. Out of the best of intentions, the utopian socialist structured a "rational," fine and ideal social system. They could only point out the ugliness of the existing system and the "splendidness" of the ideal system but failed to find a path leading to that "splendid" system. In their opinion, an ideal communist system was something that could be accomplished at a single stroke and not something that would develop and take shape in a gradual way. Therefore, the more splendid and meticulous the ideal social system they structured, the more it would degenerate into a sheer daydream. The scientific socialism which we have faith in is just the opposite. It is a practical path leading to the ideal state which Marx and Engels--two great masters of science--pointed out for mankind, [word indistinct] themselves on their knowledge about the historical necessity of social systems



and a scientific theory on the reasons for the inevitable emergence of a brand new social system and the ways of its development and perfection rather than being the subjective conception of the minds of two geniuses in the 19th century of a certain "rational" social system. Although Marx and Engels made some rough assumptions on the future communist society, they were always unwilling to make detailed descriptions as the utopian socialists had previously done. They confined their own endeavors to finding out the historical necessity that human society will inevitably develop into communism and to probing the general laws reflecting this historical necessity. In other words, fundamentally speaking, the scientific socialist theory is a theory on why and how to practice this new ideal social system, that is, a theory on why the future new system as a historical process will inevitably emerge and how it will develop from primitive to higher rather than being speculation and inferences on a future ideal society. Such being the case, then whether or not practice can test the truthfulness of the scientific socialist theory depends, primarily and mainly, on the testing and verification of the historical necessity brought to light by this doctrine and on the testing and verification of whether or not the thesis concerning the stages of development of the communist system in the doctrine is realistic.

The argument alleging "the communist system has not yet been practiced" means in fact that the theory of the scientific socialist doctrine on the communist system has not been tested by the practice of establishing the communist system. According to this opinion, communist theory as a truth merely refers to the logical outcome of the communist doctrine (this does away with the systematic nature of the scientific socialist theory and excludes something in this scientific doctrine which plays a decisive role--the historical necessity of communism replacing capitalism), the practice of the communist system only refers to the practice of [word indistinct] completion of the higher phase of communism (this does away with the continuity of the process of development of the communist system and denies the historical nature and development by stages of the practice of the communist system); and the test of practice on whether or not the communist doctrine is a truth only means using the "outcome" of the practice--the ultimate completion of the communist system to "fit" the logical outcome of the communist theory in an oversimplified way. This runs counter to the Marxist theory of knowledge. When we say practice is the only criterion for testing truth, we do not mean that only the end result of practice is the criterion for testing truth. Truth is a system and practice is a process. The test of truth by practice begins and proceeds in a process and is gradually completed in the development of the process. Practice as the only criterion for testing truth is the dialectical unity of absoluteness and relativity as well as continuous development and development by stages. Because practice inevitably develops by stages in its process of development, the test of truth by practice cannot be accomplished in one stroke and it should be gradually completed by means of concrete tests stage by stage. Therefore, the test of truth by any concrete practice can be

accomplished historically, concretely and by stages and it is therefore relative. However, since this test constantly moves forward as a process, then innumerable concrete and relative tests will form a general and absolute test of truth. Moreover, the historical and concrete tests at every stage contain an absolute and undoubted tests and verification of objective truth. For example, if we test the dialectical materialist concept that the world is infinite according to the method of "checking the number in an oversimplified way," we will forever hardly realize the test. However, in reality, the test of this theory by practice goes on at all times in an interrupted way. Every step of development of nature, society and science is historically testing and verifying the correct understanding of the infiniteness of the world of Marxist philosophy. Limited practice and relative tests contain the test and verification which is of absolute significance to the infinite world. The test of the practice of the Chinese revolution in regard to Comrade Mao Zedong's thesis of encircling the cities from the rural areas began at the very time when Comrade Mao Zedong advanced and implemented the thesis in practice rather than beginning at a time when the Chinese revolution won complete victory. By the period of the "seventh CPC Congress," although the Chinese revolution had not yet been victorious, the thesis of encircling the cities from the rural areas advanced by Comrade Mao Zedong had been tested by the concrete revolutionary phases of practice, such as the agrarian revolutionary war and the war of resistance against Japan; in the concrete practice of the preceding revolutionary stages, the CPC and the Chinese people had affirmed the truthfulness of this brilliant idea of Comrade Mao Zedong's. The final victory of the Chinese revolution is only the completion of the process of practice testing this thesis. If some people say that Comrade Mao Zedong's thesis of encircling the cities from the rural areas had not yet been tested by practice in the "Seventh CPC Congress" period, people will certainly say that this is sheer nonsense.

Just as the test of truth by any practice can be concretely, historically and steadily completed, the test of the communist theory by the practice of the communist system also gradually moves on forward through the concrete practice at different stages. When Marx and Engels had just founded the scientific socialist doctrine, the people who believed in this doctrine were very few and many people regarded communism as a "specter" and a "heretical theory" and as an "illusion" which could simply not be realized. But before long the historical practice of the proletarian revolutions and of the proletarian dictatorship gradually tested and verified this scientific doctrine, and in particular, since the world entered the 20th century, the practice of the Russian October Revolution, that of the establishment of the socialist system in China and that of the births of a series of socialist countries have turned the primitive phase of communism from an ideal into reality. The process of development of the communist system is being realistically put into practice. This alone has eloquently proved that the replacement of capitalism by communism is, above all, a historical necessity rather than being mere wishful thinking, and that the scientific socialist theory constitutes an embodiment of the great truth of objective historical laws.



Now China's socialist system has been established and developed for nearly 30 years, that is to say, theory of scientific socialism on the primitive phase of communism has been tested for nearly 30 years in China's socialist concrete practice. Over the last 30 years, Marx' theories that the public ownership system replaces the capitalist private ownership system, that distribution according to work will be practiced in the first phase of communism, that the antithesis between town and country will be abolished and the distinctions between town and country, industry and agriculture and physical and mental labor will be gradually eliminated and that a planned economy will be operated, and the inference that some vestiges of the old society will have to be preserved in the socialist stage have all been tested in China's socialist concrete practice. Of course, the socialist concrete practice has also revised and developed some assumptions of Marx on the primitive phase of communism, such as that socialism will be a society where the unique system of ownership by the whole people only prevails and commodity production and commodity exchange will be abolished. However, this revision and development does not mean negating the basic principles of scientific socialism but on the contrary, it itself has eloquently indicated: The first phase of communism as brought to light by scientific socialism has been existing as a solid fact and the historical stages of the communist system have been put concretely into practice. Meanwhile, it has also shown: The development of socialism and communism as an objective historical process is independent of man's subjective will and assumptions and communism marches forward in practice.

In sum, the theory of scientific socialism is being concretely and historically tested by the socialist practice (its primitive phase) and its truthfulness and scientific nature have been tested and verified by history rather than not having been tested by the practice of the communist system. Of course, this test as a process which gradually moves on is far from over and moreover, this test will not terminate so long as the process of development of the communist system is not yet over. But, the chief significance of this continued test lies in how to further practice and develop this truth in all spheres, in more clearly depicting the various details of the general appearance of the picture of communism and in finally completing the process of this practice and that of the test rather than lying in the fact of whether or not the scientific socialist theory is a truth (this has been on the whole solved and of course, has not yet been ultimately completed). Of course, speaking in stricter terms, even the time when the higher phase of communism arrives also does not mean the final end of practice and of the test by practice but instead it means the continuity and development of the practice of the communist system and its test of the communist theory in a new situation and at a new stage.

### III

The viewpoint of approaching the social practice of mankind in an isolated, onesided and static way is a metaphysical viewpoint. This viewpoint as reflected in an approach to the practice of the communist society is the viewpoint which we have analyzed above, a viewpoint which does away with the

continuity and identity of the whole process of practice of the communist and identity of the whole process of practice of the communist system, denies that the practice of the communist system is a process and proceeds to deny that the test of the communist theory by practice moves forward in a process.

Superficially, it seems that the argument that "the higher phase of communism has not yet been practiced and is therefore dim and remote" "attaches very much importance" to practice but essentially, it precisely denies that necessity and inevitability of the practice of communism and denies the reliability of the concrete and historical test of the communist theory by practice. Obviously, this runs in the opposite direction to the Marxist theory of knowledge. In accordance with this viewpoint, all concrete and historical tests are unreliable and only the final test is reliable. However, since the "final" test will have been the "final" outcome of practice, theory will then be of no meaning to practice. In accordance with this viewpoint, all theories, ideas, principles, policies, plans and measures can be believed and practiced only after all processes of the test by practice are completed. This is tantamount to believing that communism is a truth and to struggling for it after the higher phase of communism has become a fact. Does it not mean asking people to sit back and wait for the test of the higher phase of communism by practice? If everyone sits back and waits for the final test of practice, then who will engage in the practice of testing truth? This viewpoint simply reaches the height of absurdity. In actual life, the argument that "the communist system has not yet been practiced and is therefore dim and remote" has hoodwinked part of the people. And this section of the people doubt therefore that communism is a truth and as a result, they slow down or stop their pace of conscientiously practicing communism. The people who hold this erroneous idea have lost confidence in communism themselves and further exert themselves to influence others; and they are unwilling to struggle for communism themselves and even further want to hamper the initiative of others. Therefore, in a time like today when this absurd argument still finds a certain market, it is of immense importance and urgency to thoroughly study the Marxist theory of knowledge, do away with the metaphysical point of view in the outlook on practice and truth, to scientifically understand the practice of the communist system and its test of the communist theory and for us to have firm faith in communism and to consciously struggle for it.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'SIXIANG ZHANXIAN' ON NATIONALITY SOCIALIST RELATIONS

HK251400 Kunming SIXIANG ZHANXIAN in Chinese No 1, 24 Feb 83 pp 33-38

[Article by Xiong Xiyuan [3574 6937 0337]: "Several Questions About Understanding the Socialist Relations Among Nationalities in Our Country"]

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang in his report "Create a New Situation in All Fields of Socialist Modernization" pointed out: "Further promotion of the socialist relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all our nationalities constitutes an important aspect of the building of socialist democracy in our country." This article will deal with some simple views on several questions about understanding the development of relations among the nationalities in our country.

1. The formulation that the national question is a part of the question of the revolution is still not outmoded. Under the existing conditions of our country, the national question is a part of the general question of socialist revolution and socialist construction. To regard the national question as a question of an "overall nature" is an erroneous viewpoint. It will be detrimental to the development of the relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance among the nationalities.

Stalin made more expositions regarding the relations between the national question and the question of the revolution. He said: The Bolsheviks "have never separated the national question from the general question of the revolution." And "The main essence of the Bolshevik approach to the national question is that the Bolsheviks always examined the national question in inseparable connection with the revolutionary perspective." He pointed out: The national question of Russia "is a part of the general and more important question of the emancipation of the country." Before the October Revolution, "it was regarded as a part of the general democratic movement," and in the stage of the October Revolution, "it had become a component part of the proletarian revolution," and the national emancipation movement throughout the world was also like this. Stalin also said: The national question is "a part of the general question of the transformation of the existing order." ("Collected Works of Stalin," "Concerning the National Question in Yugoslavia," "Marxism and the National Question," "The National Question Once Again" and "The October Revolution and the National Question," respectively Vol 7, p 59;

Vol 2, p 314; Vol 7, p 185; Vol 4, p 140) In a nutshell, these expositions can be summarized into a sentence such as: The national question is a part of the general question of the social revolution and the social system. At present, some of the comrades are expressing doubts regarding this formulation, and moreover, hold that it should be abolished. Some of the people have also put forward a diametrically opposed view and claimed that the national question is a question of an "overall nature." We do not agree with this kind of view. We think that the formulation of "a part" is correct, and that it is still valid and not outmoded even today.

The national question has different properties and tasks in different societies and under different historical conditions. However, they are all closely related to the general question of the social revolution and social system and are also one of its component parts. The question of the revolution involves various spheres of society. It is extensive in scope and covers many aspects including that of the national question. This formulation of "a part" has the nature of a general principle. It is not only suitable for the national question of internationally oppressed countries, but is also suitable for the internal national question of a multinational country. The reason for the correctness of this formulation is that it has appropriately established the two positions, placed the national question into the general question of the revolution for evaluation and consideration and defined the relations between the part (national question) and the whole (social revolution). Its central idea is to point out the fact that the national question cannot be independently solved if divorced from the social revolution and social system. Under this premise, we should at the same time also understand that the national question also has its own particularity of contradiction, or its relative independence. Therefore, we must oppose not attaching importance to the national question and its characteristics, and in particular, we must oppose the erroneous "principle" of equating the national question with the class question even to the extent of abolishing the national question. This is our basic concept regarding the relations between the two. (Please refer to my article "New Theoretical Inquiry Into the National Question" in SIXIAN ZHANXIAN No 1, 1982).

In this multinational country of ours, regardless of whether we consider the period of democratic revolution or the socialist period, the national question has always manifested itself as a part of the general question of the social revolution and social system, and the basic connections between the two are as follows.

Before the nationwide liberation, the national question was a component part of the democratic revolution. In other words, without the execution and victory of the whole democratic revolution, we would not be able to externally achieve national emancipation and state independence or to internally overthrow the feudal warlords and the reactionary rule of the KMT Han chauvinist regime, abolish the system of national oppression and achieve national equality.

After the founding of the PRC, the national question has become a part of the socialist revolution. Only by carrying out democratic reform and socialist reform among all the nationalities and implementing public ownership of the



means of production can class antagonism among the nationalities be eliminated, and the social and economic sources of national oppression, national exploitation and national dispute be abolished. At the same time, after the founding of the PRC, only when the revolutionary line, policies and principles are all correct, can achievements be made in nationalities work and can the political, economic and cultural undertakings in the minority nationalities regions be developed, otherwise they will suffer setbacks. All these explain the close relations [phrase indistinct]

The formulation that the national question is a part of the general question of the social revolution and social system of our country at the present stage can more accurately and specifically express that it is a part of the general question of the social revolution and socialist construction. In other words, the complete solution of the national question must be put into the general question of revolution and construction for consideration. The solving of the national question is inconceivable if separated from the general course and general tasks of the four modernizations and the building of material civilization and spiritual civilization. Naturally, we must point out here that the revolution can no longer be referred to as stormy class struggle, the alternating of political power and the transformation of the ownership system under existing conditions in our country, but is spoken of in the broad sense. For example, the most basic aspects are: the contradiction between relations of production and productive forces, the contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base, the contradiction between the advanced and backward as well as the transforming, readjusting, upgrading and perfecting arising therefrom, and the process of the supersession of all old things by new things. In the national question, there is still the contradiction between bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism as well as their transformation.

The principle of the national question being part of the general question of the social revolution and social system has also charted the course of history of many nations and countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and they have taken a road similar to our democratic revolution. Generally speaking, the revolutionaries of these nations and countries do not necessarily understand or consciously apply this principle, but the practice of their course of history is developed along this principle. Only by holding aloft the banners of democratic revolution and national revolution, acquiring national independence and achieving national democratization, can they in turn solve the series of tasks in connection with their international national question.

In capitalist countries, there is also no exception to the condition of solving the national question in the whole question of the revolution. For example, without going through the war of independence, the United States would not have been able to cast off the British yoke and its colonial status. After that, if there had not been a civil war between the North and South, the bourgeois democratic revolution and the capitalist form of production could not have achieved complete success, and the black slaves also could not have acquired initial emancipation. In America today, if the capitalist social system is not thoroughly changed, it will also be impossible to completely solve the question of the blacks and the American Indians.

The comrades who question the validity of this principle of the national question being a part of the general question of the revolution, held that the "Great Cultural Revolution" and its former leftist mistakes of despising and belittling the importance of the national question, regarding nationalities work as unessential and giving rise to the expansion of class struggle in nationalities work were based on this principle. This is a specious and extremely ambiguous argument. The writer holds that this principle not only does not contain the meaning of despising and belittling the national question, but on the contrary, it also has appropriately raised the importance of the national question to its proper position. Its real intention is to explain the dialectical relations between the national question and the question of the revolution, and it does not inevitably lead to the expansion of class struggle in nationalities work. This principle is correct. Leftist ideology has taken advantage of it and distorted it, but this is another matter, and workers in national principle should draw a distinction between them. It appears to us that the ideological source of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and its former mistakes in nationalities work was Han chauvinism. Its methodology was subjective idealism and metaphysics. Its theoretical source was that no matter in what kind of society, without paying attention to the time, place and condition and without taking into consideration that socialist transformation had been completed in our country, they summed up the substance of the national question as being a class question. The "gang of four" carried forward this mistake to the extreme and actually said "we are all practicing socialism, how can there still be nationalities" and "the question of minority nationalities is a question of class struggle." This resulted in the evil consequence of negating the nationalities and the national question and expanding the class struggle in the nationalities regions.

Recently, there also appears this kind of viewpoint: It not only expresses doubts over the formulation of "a part," but also holds that the national question is of an "overall nature."

If this formulation refers to the national question on a world scale, there is still more or less some connection. Marxism-Leninism pointed out that in the period of imperialism and proletarian revolution after World War I and the October Revolution, the national question in colonies and dependencies changed from a local question or a domestic question into a world question, an international question of breaking away from the imperialist yoke. However, in discussing this point, the wording "overall nature" has never been used. At the same time, Marxism-Leninism expounded and proved this question mainly to explain: The liberation movement of oppressed people in colonies and dependencies and the proletarian revolution in oppressed nations should join hands, form an alliance and support and promote each other.

It will be very wrong if we use this formulation of an "overall nature" in our domestic national question. The so-called "overall nature" presumably means that the national question can be balanced, equated and matched with the question of the revolution. The appearance of this kind of viewpoint



is no doubt a punishment for the past leftist mistakes in nationalities work moving toward the other extreme. It has in fact placed the nationalities and the nationality question on a pedestal and set the national question against the question of the revolution. The result of this will inevitably be to place the national question above the revolution or make it transcend the question of the revolution, and lead to chauvinism. Under this kind of ideology, national interests can exceed the interests of the multinational socialist state and place the interests of one nation above those of other nationalities. This is obviously detrimental to the development of equality, solidarity and mutual assistance among various nationalities.

The formulation of the national question being a question of an "overall nature" naturally makes us think of Lenin's comment: "The bourgeoisie always places its national demands in the forefront, and does so in categorical fashion." ("Collected Works of Lenin," "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination," Vol 20, p 410) and Stalin's portrayal of chauvinism: "Each to his own national tent--let every man count only upon himself! The 'national question' first and foremost!" ("Collected Works of Stalin," "Marxism and the National Question," Vol 2, p 289) These words of Lenin and Stalin are extremely appropriate for the supporters of the idea of an "overall nature."

In short, we should uphold the formulation of Marxism-Leninism that the national question is a part of the general question of the revolution. This principle has enlightened us to the fact that we must hold the common interests of various nationalities and the interests of the socialist motherland above everything else. In dealing with and handling any national question, we must not depart from or run counter to the major premise of national unity, national equality and national solidarity. Only thus can we contribute to consolidating and developing the national relations of socialism.

II. Our country has secured equality for all nationalities in politics and law. The question of eliminating the actual inequality left behind by history has been placed on the agenda. If we negate the equality in politics and law because actual inequality still exists, we will also be negating the foundation for the formation and development of socialist national relations.

Since the founding of the PRC, our various nationalities have entered a new period of equality in politics and law. However, the former social development of many minority nationalities is backward, and actual inequality does exist in aspects of economic and cultural life among various nationalities. At present there is a view which, because of the existence of actual inequality, expresses doubts and even negates the equality of various nationalities in politics and law. This of course is most inappropriate.

What is equality in politics and law? What are the signs? We are able to list the following vital facts:

1. The national oppression system has been abolished, and national equality has been achieved. In China, there is no longer any ruling and oppressing nation and also no longer any ruled and oppressed nationality. All nationalities big and small are equal and protected by the constitution and the law. (See "Draft Constitution of the PRC" articles 4 and 33)

2. All nationalities have relevant representation and a certain number of cadres in various organs of state power (including central and local organs), and take part in the work of running the state. At the same time, regional autonomy is also practiced in many of the areas where people of minority nationalities live in compact communities, and all the nationalities enjoy the right to be the masters of their own destiny and to manage their own internal affairs.

3. Marxism-Leninism holds that "The real content of the proletarian demand for equality is the demand for the abolition of classes." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," "Anti-Duhring," Vol 3, p 146) We must abolish national oppression, and "this requires the abolition of classes, i.e., the introduction of socialism." ("Collected Works of Lenin," "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up," Vol 22, p 319) This has also been achieved in our country. There is no longer any exploiting or exploited class within or among the various nationalities. The abolition of the exploiting class and exploitation system and the practice of socialism are precisely the important guarantee for various nationalities to enjoy equality in politics and law.

All these aspects are also the prerequisites and foundation our socialist national relations relied on for formation and development.

However, as Stalin pointed out before, although the equality in politics and law obtained by various nationalities was a "great achievement," this matter itself "did not solve the whole national question." ("Collected Works of Stalin," "The Twelfth Congress of the Russian Communist Party," Vol 5, p 153) An important reason was because actual inequality still existed among various nationalities.

What is actual inequality? What are its character and distinguishing features and how should we deal with this question?

First we must understand clearly that actual inequality is a vestige of history, or a phenomenon created by the former class exploitation society and national oppression system. It mainly refers to the backwardness of some nationalities in social development, and this kind of backwardness has caused the nationalities, which have already obtained political and legal equality, to be incapable of enjoying various rights. In discussing this kind of backwardness, Stalin on most occasions referred to the economic and cultural aspects, and also clearly said that actual inequality "consists of economic and cultural inequality." (Ibid) We should stress here that in his famous report "On Several Questions in Our National Policy," Comrade Zhao Enlai also mentioned this question twice, and always referred to "the actual economic and cultural inequality of the various nationalities," but he did not include politics.

Secondly, under the socialist conditions of our country, actual inequality belongs to contradictions among the people, however, it nevertheless is an important question that will affect relations among the nationalities. Just as Stalin pointed out: It is "the source of all discontent and frictions." Naturally, the discontent and frictions referred to here do not mean to say that all national questions are caused by actual inequality.

Furthermore, immediately following the overthrow of the reactionary rule and the national oppression system and the setting up of people's political power, equality in politics and law has been achieved for the various nationalities. The abolition of actual inequality, unlike the overthrow of the exploitation system, cannot be accomplished by simply changing the relations of production. It requires a very long time, and may even take scores of years before producing the desired result. Naturally, we must at the same time also see that this task has already been placed on the agenda of our country. Judging from most of the localities, the gap in economic and cultural life between the different nationalities has diminished.

In our country, apart from actual inequality, for a comparatively long time in the past there were also factors affecting and obstructing the rights of various nationalities to enjoy political and legal equality due to the disturbance of leftist mistakes. For example: The national policy of the party was undermined and trampled underfoot, and nearly ceased to function; legitimate national rights were violated; the content of autonomous rights could not meet the objective need to be the master of one's own [word indistinct] and there were no practical safeguards for the exercise of autonomous rights; there were few nationalities cadres in direct proportion to the population, and many problems in the way of national assimilation; there was still the influence of chauvinist ideas and work style in nationalities work. However, despite these passive factors and this or that kind of shortcoming in safeguarding political and legal equality, there was an important fact, and it very clearly showed that: The national oppression system has in any case been completely abolished and will never return; a new period of national equality started long ago, and no forces can make it waver or change.

From the above, we have a clear picture of what is equality in politics and law, and what is actual inequality as well as the passive factors affecting and obstructing the successful institution of political and legal equality. In this way, we can understand that: Basically negating equality in politics and law because there is still actual inequality, and because there are still factors affecting and obstructing equality, is extremely wrong. Under the socialist condition in our country, what does negating the equality already achieved for various nationalities in politics and law imply? It implies that the socialist national relations of equality, solidarity and mutual assistance are without their own basis and foundation and have actually become an inconceivable phenomenon like a tree without roots and water without a source. This obviously is not in keeping with actual conditions in our country. The various nationalities in our country have obtained equal status in politics and law, and this is the main aspect. There are still factors affecting and obstructing equality, but these are minor aspects. They are two different things and cannot be lumped together.

Here, we would like to add one more thing: Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the various factors affecting and obstructing the various nationalities from enjoying equal political and legal rights have been or are being corrected, changed or abolished. At the same time, economic and cultural construction undertakings are also being resumed and developed

in many nationalities areas. We can fully expect that equal rights of various nationalities in politics and law will be perfected day by day in reality and in name. They will have better conditions and more safeguards in enjoying and exercising such equal rights.

III. Lenin's principle regarding two historical tendencies in the national movement can also be integrated with concrete conditions in our country, and applied. In the developmental process of socialist national relations in our country, the second historical tendency (the development of international intercourse in every form and the breakdown of national barriers) will play an increasingly important role, and this is a progressive phenomenon we should welcome.

Lenin in "Critical Remarks on the National Question" pointed out: "Developing capitalism knows two historical tendencies in the national question. The first is the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against all national oppression, and the creation of national states. The second is the development and growing frequency of international intercourse in every form, the breakdown of national barriers, the creation of international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 20, p 10) Lenin also said that these two historical tendencies are a universal law independent of man's will.

This exposition is mainly to explain the national question of the capitalist world, and of the colonial and dependent countries and capital imperialism in particular. However, as long as we do not copy or apply it mechanically but draw on its main points and spiritual essence, it can also be applied in connection with concrete conditions in our country. For example, during the period of modern and contemporary history and in the two revolutionary stages which are different in character, these two historical tendencies have both been manifested in our national question.

In the period of democratic revolution, the first historical tendency is relatively speaking primary. This again can be divided into two aspects, the internal aspect and the external aspect. The external aspect, which runs from the modern period to the contemporary period, shows the awakening of various nationalities in China, their struggle against the aggression and oppression of Western colonialism and imperialism and their demand to safeguard national sovereignty and national independence. The internal aspect shows the struggle of various minority nationalities against the national oppression policy of the feudal ruling class and the chauvinist KMT regime. At the same time, the second historical tendency has also become more clear. It shows the existence and development of friendly intercourse, economic contact and cultural exchange between nations and the inclination of calling for equal union between the Han nationality and various minority nationalities.

In the period of socialism, or after the founding of the PRC, the fact that we have externally won national independence and safeguarded national sovereignty and internally abolished the national oppression system and

instituted this fundamental change of national equality, explains that the first historical tendency is basically over. However, there are still some national aspirations and demands among the various minority nationalities. They are concerned about their autonomous right to be the master of their own affairs, their economic and cultural construction and their prosperity and development; they call for paying attention to national distinctions and showing consideration for national traits; they hope that their own national history will be respected, correctly reflected and handled, and their fine national traditions will be carried forward. These aspirations and demands can be described as the first historical tendency. They are mainly the embodiment of national consciousness and national awakening under the new historical condition. These are legitimate national feelings and they belong to contradictions within socialist national relations. Under socialist conditions, because of having initially acquired some political, economic and cultural development, the nationalities in the former backward society all cherish greater hope for the prosperity and future of their own nationality. This is a wholly understandable and normal phenomenon. Precisely for this reason, the party and the state have all along strongly opposed the chauvinist ideological tendency of not respecting national rights, national traits, national distinctions and national feelings.

The above is the manifestation and development of the first historical tendency in the socialist period. What we should mainly stress in this period is that the second historical tendency is opening up its own road and will play an increasingly vital role. In China, because of the establishment of a unified people's democratic country in which all nationalities are equal, the various minority nationalities also enjoy the political right of regional autonomy; because of the practice of socialist public ownership, the economic life of the nationalities has become closer. Therefore, contacts between different nationalities have become more frequent. They are rapidly developing and expanding, and thereby raising the existing exchange and cooperation in history to a new stage.

In China, apart from the fact that the distribution of various nationalities is seldom centralized but mostly dispersed, and their living together in mixed communities is extremely favorable for international intercourse, there are also many favorable factors promoting the formation and development of socialist national relations. For example, members of different nationalities have for a long time developed close relations by work, laboring, studying and living together in party and state organs and in such collectives as various production organizations, schools and army units; Han nationality cadres have gone to work in minority nationalities areas, and Han nationality people have migrated to minority nationalities areas to take part in construction; in various national areas, some of the more developed nationalities are supporting the fraternal nationalities in their territory and helping each other; the cadres and members of minority nationalities have gone to all parts of the motherland for visits and study, and many of them are taking part in work all over the country...these facts show that for all nationalities big or small in the mainland or the border areas in our country at



present, the mutual contact, understanding and cooperation among members of different nations on such an extensive and profound foundation, are indeed unprecedented. Under these kinds of conditions, the relations between different nationalities are not as sharply divided as before, and the national barriers and national demarcations of the past have been slowly destroyed with each passing day. Moreover, a certain socialist common character is gradually taking shape in the political, economic and cultural fields, and distinctions have started to diminish. These fresh new things are also the concrete manifestation in our country of the second tendency in the national question described by Lenin. They possess great historical and progressive significance and are a phenomenon with a regular nature.

Nationality is a historical category, and its features will change along with the changes in the condition of national life in society. In the world of today, there is no longer any Robinson Crusoe-type nationality. No nationality can claim that it has not absorbed and mixed in any foreign ingredient in the political, economic and cultural fields, and that everything is purely 100 percent its own. Socialist society has provided more abundant conditions for various nationalities to absorb from each other and to learn from and help each other. This is the time various nationalities have the opportunity to achieve development and prosperity. For those who are good at absorbing the fine culture of other nationalities in connection with the concrete practice of their own nationality and use it to enrich and raise their own standard, their development and prosperity will certainly be faster. Otherwise, their development will be slower. The Han is a more advanced nationality in our country. If it has not been good at absorbing the fine culture of various fraternal nationalities, it would also not have developed to the present level. The condition of our country is also similar to some of the other more advanced nations in development. Under the present conditions in our country, the various nationalities absorbing from each other and learning from helping from each other, and the production and growth of socialist common character, does not mean that nationalities no longer exist, it means that factors favorable to the development and prosperity of each nationality are increasing, and unfavorable factors are decreasing and diminishing. In this respect there is no longer a question of who is assimilating whom. By the time national merger is really realized in the future, it will not be a question of which nationality no longer exists, but of all nationalities withering away.

Marx and Engels pointed out: Big modern industry and its concentrated forces are everywhere "destroying the national barriers." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," "International Review (III)," Vol 7, p 503) The daily perfecting of the mode of production, exchange and division of work among nations are eliminating more and more completely "the primitive closed-door state of various nations." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," "German Ideology," Vol 1, p 51) This process is also taking place in our country and will become increasingly notable. We can also explain this by the example of the abolition of actual inequality. This task itself means that we must energetically develop economic and cultural construction undertakings in various



nationalities areas. It means that the modernization of the economic and cultural life of a nationality must thus have the necessary means and capability to enjoy various rights. To conform with the logical outcome, we must certainly bring closer together the material and cultural living levels of different nationalities, further eliminate national demarcations, develop common character and diminish distinctions. We can say that the development of this kind of common character is also the development of socialism and the advance on the road of achieving actual equality.

Lenin said: "The proletariat cannot support the consecration of materialism, on the contrary, it supports everything that helps to obliterate national distinctions and remove national barriers; it supports everything that makes the ties between nationalities closer and closer, or tends to merge nations." ("Selected Works of Lenin," "Critical Remarks on the National Question," Vol 20, pp 18-19) This exposition of Lenin is of extremely important guiding significance. It reminds us that we must submit to and promote the development of the second historical tendency in the national question so that it will continue to be expanded, enriched and upgraded. Only in this way can we contribute to the development of socialist national relations and attain the great communist goal in the future. We must follow the inevitable road of history, this is the conclusion drawn by Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

CSO: 4005/736

## PARTY AND STATE

### FIFTH JIANGXI CPPCC COMMITTEE TO MEET

OW170050 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Apr 83

[Excerpts] The Standing Committee of the Fourth Jiangxi Provincial CPPCC Committee held its 25th meeting from 11 to 14 April in Nanchang City's Zhongshan Hall. The meeting decided to convene the first meeting of the Fifth Jiangxi Provincial CPPCC Committee on 21 April in Nanchang. The meeting also:

--heard, deliberated and approved the report on the work of the Standing Committee of the Fourth Jiangxi Provincial CPPCC Committee and the report on the handling of the proposals tabled by committee members at the fourth meeting of the Fourth Jiangxi Provincial Committee.

--listened to Secretary General He Heng's explanations on selecting members of the Fifth Jiangxi Provincial CPPCC Committee;

--discussed and approved the list of members of the Fifth Provincial CPPCC Committee, the proposed list of members of the presidium of the first session of the Fifth Jiangxi Provincial CPPCC Committee and the proposed list of members of the motions examination committee of the first session of the Fifth Jiangxi Provincial CPPCC Committee.

The 760 members of the Fifth Jiangxi Provincial CPPCC Committee, approved after discussion by this meeting, are representatives from 25 different walks of life including the CPC, democratic parties, nonparty patriots and mass organizations in our province. The total number of these committee members is 12.55 percent more than that of the current committee. Members outside of the party account for 66.72 percent of the total, while CPC members are 33.28 percent. The ratio of women and minority nationality individuals was also taken into consideration in selecting these members. Prominent nonparty personages throughout the province were also included to the maximum possible. This composition fully manifests the broadness and full representation of the revolutionary and patriotic united front as well as the inclusion of both new and old members and the replacement of the old by the new. The average age of these members is 8.69 years younger than that of the members of the preceding committee. Their educational background is also remarkable different. This will enable the provincial CPPCC committee to play a more positive role in the political and social life in our province, in conducting friendly activities with foreign countries and in contributing to socialist modernization in the future.

Fang Zhichun, chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, addressed the meeting.

Vice chairmen of the provincial CPPCC committee Luo Mengwen, Li Shizhang, He Delan, Zhong Ping, Lai Shaoyao, He Shikun, Lu Xiaopeng, Shen Hanqing, Zhu Kaiquan, Li Huafeng, Ni Nanshan and Liu Jianhua attended the meeting. Xie Xianghuang, Standing Committee member of the provincial CPPCC committee and vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, also attended the meeting.

CSO: 4005/734

## PARTY AND STATE

### JIANGXI PREPARES TO CONVENE SIXTH CONGRESS

OW160447 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Apr 83

[Excerpts] The 2 1/2 day 15th meeting of the Standing Committee of the 5th Jiangsu Provincial People's Congress successfully ended on the morning of 14 April at the Jiangxi guesthouse after having smoothly completed all official functions.

The central topic of discussion at this meeting was the next provincial people's congress. It was an important meeting which deal with the succession of the new to the current congress and the creation of a new situation in the functioning of the provincial people's congress.

The meeting carefully reviewed the preparatory work for the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress, decided on a convening date, and deliberated and approved the credentials committee's report on qualifications for deputies to the Sixth Provincial People's Congress and the announcement of the deputies' list. It also discussed and approved the draft agenda of the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress and various proposals to be submitted to that session. It examined and approved the report on the work of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress and the meeting's reply to Yang Shangkui, chairman of the Standing Committee.

Luo Mengwen, vice chairman of the Standing Committee, presided over the meeting. Chairman Yang Shangkui delivered a speech.

Vice chairmen of the Standing Committee Zhang Yuqing, Li Fangyuan, Gu Jiguang and Xie Xianghuang attended the meeting Liu Bin, president of the provincial higher people's court, Chen Keguang, chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate, and responsible persons of various departments of the provincial people's congress were present as observers.

After approving the credentials committee's report on the qualifications for deputies to the Sixth Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress on the morning of 14 April, the meeting decided that the qualifications of the 958 elected deputies are all valid.

The reply of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Jiangxi People's Congress to chairman Yang Shangkui, approved by the meeting on the morning of 14 April, reads:

Respected and beloved Chairman Yang Shangkui,

Your 1 April letter to the 15th meeting of the Standing Committee of the 5th Provincial People's Congress requests that you not be nominated as a deputy to the Sixth Provincial People's Congress and that you not be listed as one of Jiangxi's candidate deputies to the Sixth NPC. This Standing Committee has carefully discussed your letter.

Firmly implementing the Party Central Committee's strategic policy decision on cooperation between new and old cadres and the succession of the new to the old cadres, you have demonstrated a veteran comrade's noble character and incorruptible principle, thereby setting a good example for all of us. Your feelings and wishes which you clearly and sincerely expressed in the letter deeply moved us. Considering your advanced age and the desire to let you have sufficient and comfortable rest to enable you to live long, the Standing Committee has decided to comply with your request.

The people of our province will not forget the outstanding contributions you have made to the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress during the more than 3 years of your tenure. We earnestly wish and are firmly convinced that the new Standing Committee which is to be elected by the first session of the forthcoming Sixth Provincial People's Congress will certainly follow the stipulations of the new constitution, draw on the experience of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress, brace up to march forward and still better bring into play the function and role of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress even better in order to make more contributions to building a socialist material and spiritual civilization in our province.

Sincere wishes for your good health and longevity.

CSO: 4005/734



## PARTY AND STATE

### HUNAN NAMES NEW PARTY CULTURE GROUP MEMBERS

HK200642 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 19 Apr 83

[Summary] Yesterday morning, the staff and workers of art and culture organizations directly under the provincial authorities held a meeting at Hunan theater. The meeting announced the namelist of the new leading group of the provincial department (Liu Jiechu), leader of the work team stationed in Hunan of the CPC Central Committee's guiding group on provincial, municipal and regional structural reform, and Jiao Linyi, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, attended the meeting and spoke. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Wang Xiangtian, director of the provincial CPC committee propaganda committee. He read at the meeting the namelist of the new leading party group in the provincial culture department. (Gao Yufen) was appointed secretary of the group and (Jin Hanchuan), (Li Shouzhang), (Sun Wan) and (Tie Ke) were appointed members of the group.

Jiao Linyi put forward his expectations for all comrades in the cultural circle. "He hoped that comrades in the cultural circle will strive hard together to create a new situation in Hunan's cultural work under the leadership of the new leading group.

"He said that in order to create a new situation, it is very important to strengthen unity in the cultural circle. Although some work has been done to eliminate the influence of leftism in this circle, this work has not yet been carried out thoroughly. As a result, leftism continues to undermine the ideological unity and the internal unity in our cultural ranks. Therefore, we should deepen our study of the party's line, principles and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and unify people's thinking with this line, principles and policies in order to bridge the gaps in their thoughts and strengthen revolutionary unity."

He said that in the cultural field the leadership of the party mainly should be displayed in conscientiously carrying out the party's line, principles and policies, conscientiously doing political and ideological work among culture and art workers, helping them to go deep into the lives of and strengthen their ties with the masses of people and create favorable conditions for these workers' work, study and lives."

He said that in order to create a new situation in Hunan's work, we should pay attention to training and finding people of ability. He called on leaders in culture and art work to study hard and strive to become experts in the work.

"In his speech, Comrade (Liu Jiechu) expounded on three important questions: how to satisfactorily carry out ideological and political work in the cultural circle; how to satisfactorily carry out literary and art work; and how to establish a new type of relations between people in cultural circle. He analyzed the historical background whereby the slogan of forming a troupe on the basis of politics was raised during the 10 years of internal disorder and pointed out that the slogan served the erroneous line at that time and was, therefore, completely wrong; therefore, we had to thoroughly eliminate the influence of this slogan. He said that the criterion for the performance of literary and art workers is whether [words indistinct] produced any good works. He pointed out the magnificent prospect for them to achieve great things in the 1980's and called on them to unite closely, show concern for and give support to one another and strive to make Hunan's literature and art prosperous.

CSO: 4005/734

## PARTY AND STATE

### HUNAN DISCIPLINES XIANGTAN PREFECTURE LEADERS

HK170621 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 16 Apr 83

erpts} According to HUNAN RIBAO, during the structural reform, Xiantan prefectural CPC Committee Secretary (Wang Lianfu), Deputy Secretary and Special Commissioner (Shi Weigang), and Commissioner's Office Finance Section Deputy Director (Hu Muyao) violated party discipline and indiscriminately distributed coupons for a large number of high-quality bicycles at a labor model rally. They thus seriously encouraged the sinister practice in the prefectural organs of seizing the chance of structural reform to privately and indiscriminately distribute state property. This had a very bad influence among the masses.

On 14 April the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee issued a decision: To give Comrade (Wang Lianfu) a serious inner-party warning; to give Comrade (Shi Weigang) an inner-party warning; to dismiss Comrade (Hu Muyao) from his post as member of the party group of the prefectural commissioner's office finance section, and to recommend his dismissal from the post of deputy director of the office; and to dismiss Comrade (Hou Yun) from his post of party group secretary of the commissioner's office chemical industry bureau, and recommend his removal from his functional post in the bureau.

The decision demanded that, while carrying out structural reform, the CPC committees at all levels strengthen ideological and political work and check on the implementation of the relevant regulations and disciplines of the central and provincial CPC committees. It is necessary to swiftly investigate violations of law and discipline in seizing the chance to privately and indiscriminately distribute public funds and property, and deal with them seriously.

Today's HUNAN RIBAO carries an editorial: Resolutely put a top to sinister practices in the structural reforms.

CSO: 4005/734

## PARTY AND STATE

### JILIN CONGRESS SESSION HOLDS SECOND PRESIDUM MEETING

SK220456 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 31 Apr 83

[Text] This morning, the presidium of the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress held its second meeting.

The meeting discussed and approved electoral procedures for the session. Comrade Zhang Gensheng presided over the meeting.

The meeting approved draft electoral regulations for the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress. The meeting decided to divide the session into two electoral procedures.

The first procedure is: The session will elect deputies to the Sixth National People's Congress and projected candidates for chairman, vice chairmen and members of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, governor, deputy governors, president of the provincial higher people's court, presidents of the three prefectural intermediate people's courts, chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate and chief procurators of the three branches of the procuratorate.

The second procedure is: On the basis of the preparatory electoral work, the session will [word indistinct] elect the chairman, vice chairmen and members of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, governor, deputy governors, president of the provincial higher people's court, presidents of the three prefectural intermediate people's courts, chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate and chief procurators of the three branches of procuratorate.

The presidium of the session is in charge of the electoral organizational work. The election will be conducted by secret ballot.

The meeting discussed namelists of projected candidates jointly posed by the provincial CPC committee, all democratic parties, mass organizations and democratic consultation committees. Comrade Zhang Gensheng made a statement on it. The meeting unanimously approved submitting the namelist of projected candidates to all delegations for preliminarily informal discussions.

CSO: 4005/734

## PARTY AND STATE

### JILIN HOLDS MEETING ON PARTY RECTIFICATION

SK191044 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 18 Apr 83

[Text] On 16 April, at a meeting of responsible comrades of provincial offices and bureaus and discipline inspection groups, Zhang Shiyong, secretary of the discipline inspection commission of the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee, said: Party committees at all levels should include party rectification on their agenda. Members of leading bodies at all levels should shoulder responsibility for party rectification. This is the system. Leading cadres in charge of party rectification will be held accountable if their departments do a poor job in rectifying party style. All leading bodies should contribute, with their own exemplary deeds, to achieving a fundamental turn for the better in party style.

Comrade Zhang Shiyong said: For the time being, provincial organs should concentrate their efforts on checking malfeasance in housing construction and distribution; the unhealthy trends of abusing power to promote one's children or relatives and friends to cadre posts or to higher positions, and of conducting backdoor deals in recruiting workers, students and soldiers; and the trend of extravagant wining and dining and hosting banquets and giving presents with public funds. It is forbidden to fabricate facts to slander good people, suppress democracy or retaliate against others. It is forbidden to take the advantage of reforms to divide up and embezzle state funds and property.

Comrade Zhang Shiyong stressed that, at present, all departments should first of all investigate and correct malfeasance in housing construction and achieve good results in the work by the end of May.

CSO: 4005/734



## PARTY AND STATE

### ANHUI PROVINCIAL CPPCC SESSION TO OPEN

OW171953 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Apr 83

[Excerpts] The 21st meeting of the Standing Committee of the Fourth Anhui Provincial CPPCC Committee ended in Hefei on the morning of 15 April. The meeting decided to convene the First Plenary Session of the Fifth Anhui Provincial CPPCC Committee in Hefei on 21 April.

Chairman Zhang Kaifan and Vice Chairman Zhu Nong of the provincial CPPCC committee successively presided over the meeting.

Wang Zenong, Fang Qikun, Sun Youqiao, Pan Ezhang, Chen Tianren, Ma Leting, Hu Xiguang and Fang Xiangming, vice chairmen of the provincial CPPCC committee, attended the meeting.

After full consultation, the meeting decided that the Fifth Anhui Provincial CPPCC Committee would consist of 720 members.

Compared with its predecessor, the Fifth Anhui Provincial CPPCC committee has the following characteristics:

1. The number of the committee members has increased so that the committee is more widely representative and can unite with more people. This shows the consolidation and expansion of the patriotic united front. The fifth provincial CPPCC committee now consists of 720 members, an increase of 51 members compared with the Fourth Provincial CPPCC Committee.
2. The Fifth Provincial CPPCC Committee has more intellectuals, especially middle-aged ones, in its membership. This shows the concern and attention of the party and the state for intellectuals.
3. The average age of the committee members is 59.1, a decrease of 6.2 compared with their predecessors.
4. The proportion of party members to nonparty personages on the provincial CPPCC committee has been readjusted, and the number of nonparty personages on the committee has noticeably increased.

Overall, the Fifth Provincial CPPCC Committee is an organization of great unity. Hailing from all corners of the country, members of the committee, including farsighted personages in various quarters, can meet the requirements of the drive for the four modernizations and of the cause of reunifying the motherland.

CSO: 4005/734

## PARTY AND STATE

### ANHUI SIXTH PEOPLE'S CONGRESS TO OPEN

OW171733 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Apr 83

[Excerpts] The 19th meeting of the Standing Committee of the 5th Anhui Provincial People's Congress, which ended today, has decided to hold the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress in Hefei on 23 April this year.

Hu Kaiming, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, presided over the meeting and made a speech. Li Shinong, Huang Yan, Ma Changyan, Cheng Yetang, Yang Chengzong, Ying Yiquan, Zhang Zuoyin, Xia Deyi, Zhao Minxue, Li Guangtao, Chen Yuanliang and Zhao Kai, vice chairman of the Standing Committee, attended the meeting. (Zheng Huaizhou), secretary general of the provincial people's government; Chen Zhenyan, president of the provincial higher people's court; and Liu Lianmin, chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate, attended the meeting as observers.

The meeting heard a report on the preparation for the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress. Zhang Zuoyin, chairman of the Credentials Committee of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress, gave a report on the examination of the credentials of deputies to the Sixth Provincial People's Congress and explained certain questions on the examination of the credentials.

Zhang Zuoyin's report says: Of the 813 deputies, workers and peasants account for 33.1 percent, cadres 24.2 percent, intellectuals 21.3 percent, democratic party and nonparty patriotic personages 18.1 percent and PLA and people's armed police 3.4 percent. Of the total number of deputies, women account for 20.4 percent, minority people 4.2 and returned overseas Chinese 0.9 percent. Thus, they are characterized by broad representation. In addition, middle-aged and young deputies total 542, 66.7 percent of the total. Deputies with a college or high school education number 461, accounting for 56.7 percent of the total number of deputies.

After deliberations, members of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress approved the report on the examination of the deputies' credentials and the promulgation of the deputies' namelist.

The meeting also considered the draft agenda of the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress and the proposed namelist of presidium and secretary general of the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress.

The main agenda of the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress is as follows: 1. Hear and consider the Anhui Provincial People's Government's report on Anhui's Sixth 5-Year Plan. 2. Elect deputies to the 6th NPC. 3. Elect chairman, vice chairmen and members of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress and decide on the governor and vice governors of the Anhui Provincial People's Government. 4. Elect president of the Anhui Provincial Higher People's Court and local intermediate people's courts and chief procurators of the provincial people's procuratorate and local procuratorates.

CSO: 4005/734

PARTY AND STATE

DENG XIAOPING ON READJUSTING SHANGHAI LEADERSHIP

OW220539 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Apr 83

[Text] Issue No 8 of SHANGHAI ZHIBU SHENGHUO [LIFE OF SHANGHAI PARTY BRANCHES], which will be published on 21 April, carries an article entitled "On Readjusting Shanghai's Leading Municipal Body." The article reports on the views expressed by a central leading comrade on readjusting Shanghai's leading municipal body.

The article points out: During Comrade Deng Xiaoping's visit to Shanghai in February this year, he perused the namelist of middle-aged and young candidates for posts in Shanghai's leading municipal body proposed by the Shanghai municipal personnel arrangement group. He felt that all the candidates were qualified persons. He also expressed concrete opinions on readjusting Shanghai's leading municipal body. His opinions were soon unanimously supported by other principal responsible comrades of the party Central Committee.

The article also reports on the views of Comrade Chen Pixian, who pointed out: Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opinions on readjusting Shanghai's leading municipal body was put forward after long and careful consideration, exchange of views and repeated comparisons. It completely conforms to Shanghai's realities. I hope that all comrades--including reelected comrades, newly elected comrades and comrades who have left leading posts--will make joint efforts to undertake the four modernizations with one heart and one mind, create a new situation in Shanghai and make Shanghai excel in the country.

Issue No 8 of SHANGHAI ZHIBU SHENGHUO also carries a talk entitled "Shanghai's Economic Situation Is Becoming Better and Better Every Year," and part 2 of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution entitled "On the Party's Guiding Ideology."

CSO: 4005/734

## PARTY AND STATE

### PREPARATIONS MADE FOR SHANGHAI PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

OW192129 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 18 Apr 83

[Text] The preparatory meeting for the First Session of the Eighth Shanghai Municipal People's Congress was held this morning.

A total of 977 deputies will attend the first session of the municipal people's congress. The preparatory meeting was attended by 882 deputies. Zhong Min, vice chairman of the municipal people's congress Standing Committee, presided over the preparatory meeting.

The preparatory meeting elected a 101-member presidium and a secretary general for the congress session.

The agenda of the session adopted by the preparatory meeting includes the following items:

1. Hear and examine a report by Mayor Wang Daohan on the work of the Shanghai Municipal People's Government and examine the draft sixth 5-year economic and social development plan for Shanghai, covering 1981 to 1985.
2. Examine a written report by Vice Chairman Zhong Min on the work of the municipal people's congress Standing Committee, examine a written report by court President Guan Zizhan on the work of the municipal higher people's court and examine a written report by Chief Procurator Qin Kun on the work of the municipal people's procuratorate.
3. Elect Shanghai Municipality's deputies to the Sixth National People's Congress, elect Shanghai's mayor and vice mayors, elect presidents of the municipal higher and intermediate people's courts and elect chief procurators of the municipal people's procuratorate and its branches.
4. Adopt relevant resolutions.

Wang Tao, vice chairman of the municipal people's congress Standing Committee, explained two draft election regulations.

Following the close of the preparatory meeting for the first session of the Eighth Shanghai Municipal People's Congress, the presidium of the session held its first meeting. Comrade Chen Guodong presided over the meeting.



The meeting first of all elected 15 permanent chairman of the presidium. They are: Chen Guodong, Hu Lijiao, Yang Di, Zhong Min, Zhao Zukang, (Shi Ping), Chen Yi, He Yixiang, Di Jingxiang, Wang Tao, Liu Jingji, Wu Ruolan, Li Peinan, Tan Jiazhen and (Liu Nianzhi).

The meeting also adopted the lists of executive chairmen and composition of small groups and the schedule of the session.

The meeting listened to Comrade Di Jingxiang's explanation of the handling of proposals and the implementation of the two draft provisional regulations and adopted the provisional regulations on the handling of proposals and deputies' opinions and on their implementation.

The meeting made arrangements for the various delegations to deliberate on and put forward a list of candidates for the municipality's deputies to the Sixth National People's Congress.

CSO: 4005/734

## PARTY AND STATE

### SHANDONG PEOPLE'S CONGRESS HOLDS PREPARATORY MEETING

SK190632 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 18 Apr 83

[Text] The first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress held a preparatory meeting on the afternoon of 18 April at the Bayi Auditorium. Zhao Lin, chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, presided over the meeting.

The meeting approved items on the agenda of the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress:

- 1) Acting provincial governor Liang Buting making the report on the Sixth 5-Year Plan for provincial economic and social development, examining and discussing the draft of the Sixth 5-Year Plan for provincial economic and social development, and adopting a resolution on the Sixth 5-Year Plan for the provincial economic and social development;
- 2) (Guo Changcai), deputy director of the provincial financial department, making the report on the 1982 provincial final accounts and on the 1983 draft budget, and approving the resolution on the 1982 provincial final accounts and the 1983 draft budget;
- 3) Some electoral items, electing the province's deputies to the Sixth NPC, electing members of the Standing Committee of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress, governor and deputy governors of the province, president of the provincial higher people's court, chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate and procurators of people's procuratorates in various localities; and
- 4) Other items.

The preparatory meeting also adopted the namelist of the members of the Presidium and secretary-general of the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress. The Presidium of the session is composed of 88 members and Zhang Zhusheng is concurrently secretary-general. The meeting also adopted the namelist of members of the proposals [Yi An] examination committee and the budget committee under the Sixth Provincial People's Congress. A total of 964 deputies attended the preparatory meeting. The first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress formally opened on the morning of 19 April.

CSO: 4005/734

## PARTY AND STATE

### CONGRESS SESSION HOLDS PREPARATORY MEETING

SK220324 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Apr 83

[Text] A preparatory meeting for the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress was held at the Liaoning People's Theater on the afternoon of 21 April.

The meeting elected the Presidium and secretary general of the session and approved the agenda of the session and namelists of the motions examination and budget committees.

The main items on the agenda of the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress are:

- 1) Hear, examine and discuss the work report of the provincial people's government and approve resolutions on the work report of the provincial people's government;
- 2) Examine and discuss the province's Sixth 5-Year Plan made by the provincial people's government for national economy and social development, examine a provincial plan for 1983 national economy and social development and approve resolutions on the province's Sixth 5-Year Plan for national economy and social development;
- 3) Hear, examine and discuss the draft report on 1982 final accounts and 1983 budgetary estimate of the province and approve resolutions on 1982 final accounts and 1983 budgetary estimate of the province;
- 4) Hear, examine and discuss the work report of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee and approve resolutions on the work report of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee;
- 5) Examine, discuss and approve work reports of the provincial higher people's court and people's procuratorate; and
- 6) Elect provincial delegate to the Sixth National People's Congress and members of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, decide on a governor and deputy governors, elect the president of the provincial higher people's court, presidents of prefectural intermediate people's courts, chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate and chief procurators of branches of procuratorate.

All participants voted by a show of hands and unanimously approved all the items on the agenda of the session and namelists of the Presidium, secretary general, the motions examination committee and budget committee of the session.

Comrade Huang Oudong presided over the preparatory meeting. After the preparatory meeting, the Presidium held its first meeting.

The Presidium meeting was presided over by Chairman Comrade Zhang Zhengde. Its executive members of the Presidium, decided selected candidates for deputy secretary general of the provincial people's congress and approved namelists of groups of executive members and the session's schedule.

CSO: 4005/734

## PARTY AND STATE

### LIAONING PREPARES FOR SIXTH PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

SK190135 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 18 Apr 83

[Text] According to our reporters, the Standing Committee of the 5th Liaoning Provincial People's Congress held its 21st meeting from 17 April to the morning of 18 April to discuss the issues of preparing for the first session of the 6th provincial people's congress.

Huang Oudong, chairman of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress, presided over the meeting. Attending the meeting were vice chairmen of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, including Zhou Chiheng, Wang Kuncheng, Zhang Qingtai, Zhao Shi, Liu Wen, Xiao Zuohan, Fu Zhonghai, Yang Kebing, Tang Hongguang and Qu Jingxin, and Standing Committee members--34 persons in all.

The meeting heard a report on the examining of qualifications of deputies to the Sixth Provincial People's Congress. As a result, all of the 900 elected deputies were proven qualified. As compared with the Fifth Provincial People's Congress, some obvious changes have taken place, including: The number of middle-aged and young deputies has increased; the average age of deputies is 48.5; the cultural standard of deputies has risen; deputies who are technicians and specialists from the circles of natural sciences, philosophy, social science, engineering technology, technology, literature and art, education and journalism, account for 35 percent of all the deputies; the number of deputies of minority nationalities has increased; the total number of deputies has dropped by one-fifth; and in convening meetings, discussing questions and making decisions in the days to come, each nationality, prefecture and social circle will participate with an adequate number of deputies. All of these new changes have shown that, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the excellent situation of stability and unity, in which the people make efforts to create a new situation of socialist modernization, has prevailed in the province.

The meeting discussed and approved the draft agenda for the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress, which will be submitted to the session's preparatory meeting for approval. The meeting discussed and approved the candidate namelist of the secretary general and the presidium for the session and the namelists of the session's motion examination and budget committees. All of these namelists were formulated after a number of deliberations and consultations, which were respectively explained at the meeting. The meeting also discussed and approved the work report of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress.



## PARTY AND STATE

### 'LIAONING RIBAO' COMMENTS ON 'LEFT' IDEA ON INTELLECTUALS

SK181150 Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 23 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Commentator's article: "Eliminate 'Left' Muddled Ideas"--On Correcting Prejudice Against Intellectuals]

[Excerpts] In a report delivered at a rally in commemoration of the centenary of Marx' death, Comrade Hu Yaobang said that with regard to the key question on treating knowledge and intellectuals, we have "for years been obsessed with erroneous ideas that depart from Marxism." Both historical lessons and current problems prove that if these ideas are not clarified, they will continue to interfere with the implementation of the party's policy toward intellectuals and thus more seriously endanger socialist modernization. Now we will cite a few of these ideas.

"Personnel not engaged in production, nonproductive personnel." This is a cell and a view adopted for many years in regard to intellectuals engaging in scientific and technical and management work instead of manual labor. This reflects an unscientific idea. It makes it appear as if engineering and technical personnel and managerial personnel of enterprises are separated and divorced from production and have nothing to do with it. This also makes it appear as if only manual labor can be called production or create wealth and that mental work cannot be called production and has nothing to do with creation of wealth. This, of course, violates science and facts. Before liberation, our economy was for a long time in a situation of small-scale production in which productive forces were underdeveloped, science and technology were backward and mental work was divorced from manual labor and from production. As a result, the role of science and technology in production was not prominent, and some people lacked adequate understanding of the function of knowledge and intellectuals in production and construction. However, nowadays following the development of modern production and science and technology, scientific and technical knowledge and managerial knowledge, in the world as well as in our country, have infiltrated more deeply and extensively in production, with the result that mental work has played a more and more important role in creating the value of products and social wealth. According to rough estimates of some developed countries, 60 to 80 percent of increases in productivity are achieved through adoption of new science and technology. If we earnestly investigate some industrial and mining enterprises around us, we can see that the great production increases over the past few years has been mainly attributed to technology in addition to policies, not to increasing workers or extending work hours.

"Old right deviationists, old conservatives." Under the protracted influence of the "left" erroneous ideology, many people think that "intellectuals are right deviationist in politics and conservative in professional work." This is also a kind of "left" prejudice. In construction in the past some scientific, technical and managerial personnel, persistently upholding the scientific approach and acting in accordance with objective law, resisted the trend against science and common sense of doing ill-considered work and giving arbitrary and impractical directions and were often labeled as "right deviationists," "conservatives" and "stumbling blocks." This has brought grave consequences to our economic construction. Countless facts tell us that any knowledge in conformity with science and objective reality is a weapon for the people in correctly understanding and transforming the world. If the people master more of such knowledge and apply more of it to studying and solving--by integrating theory with practice--the problems in production and construction, they will be more capable of comprehensively and penetratingly analyzing and understanding numerous favorable and unfavorable factors and thus reach conclusions more in compliance with science and reality and will promote our undertakings on the orbit of sound development. Only those who lack knowledge and rush into work without forethought will regard the attitude of respecting science as "conservative." We should draw lessons from historical experiences, foster the scientific approach of respecting intellectuals and eliminate prejudice against intellectuals.

"Conceited and arrogant, cocky and inefficient in leadership." This is a label tagged on some intellectuals for many years under the "left" influence. The "conceited and arrogant" attitude criticized by some people was, in fact, an attitude with which intellectuals offered and upheld their correct opinions on the basis of their professional knowledge and scientific approach. This was precisely a manifestation of their sense of responsibility for their work and of their confidence and was a prerequisite of their ability to help leading persons exercise correct leadership. This was on no account "inefficiency in leadership." We are facing extremely arduous, complicated tasks for socialist modernization, which can be achieved only through rich modern scientific knowledge. Our present contingent of cadres, however, is low in educational and professional standards. Under such a condition, our cadres at all levels should, on the one hand, strive to improve their educational and professional standards and, on the other, adopt the scientific approach of respecting knowledge and intellectuals, earnestly heed the opinions of experts of various trades and professions so as to avoid mistakes in their decisions and work due to lack of adequate knowledge. Both positive and negative experiences tell us that if we suppress the sound opinions of knowledgeable persons on the pretext that they are "conceited," we will do nothing but harm our cause.

We still can give many such examples. This shows that although the CPC Central Committee has straightened out the guiding ideology on the attitude toward knowledge and intellectuals, the protracted grave influence of left errors existing in the understanding and work practice in all fields and in our public opinion is far from being eliminated. Where such muddled and erroneous views exist, the implementation of the policy on intellectuals is deadlocked. All fronts should never neglect the task of straightening out such views in their efforts to create a new situation and to clear away the obstacles to reform.

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'LIAONING RIBAO' ON STRUCTURAL REFORM

SK181209 Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Mar 83 p 2

[Article by investigation group of the Policy Research Office of the Provincial CPC Committee: "Strengthen Ideological Work So As To Promote Structural Reform"]

[Excerpts] Under the concern and guidance of the party Central Committee, structural reform work by our provincial and city level leading organs is being carried out in an all-round manner. The broad masses of party members and cadres warmly welcome this reform and are actively plunging into it, which is of far-reaching significance. Our veteran comrades, in particular, have given full rein to their role as the backbone, examples and vanguards in the reform, displaying a high level of political consciousness and a communist style. In the course of the reform, leading organs at all levels have continued their routine work. The trend of developments is really better than what we had expected. At present, the party Central Committee has decided to speed up the pace of structural reform at the provincial and city levels. In order to fulfill our structural reform tasks more rapidly and in a better manner, we must, at present, pay special attention to intensifying ideological and political work.

Only by realistically strengthening ideological and political work, enhancing the sense of historic responsibility on the part of the broad masses of party members and cadres and arousing their revolutionary zeal, can be effectively overcome all difficulties and resistance and ensure that our structural reform work will soundly develop along a correct orientations. Over the past 1 or 2 decades, for a variety of reasons, the phenomena of organizations overlapping, having more hands than needed, interfering with each others' work, poor operations, serious bureaucracy and poor work efficiency have not yet been radically eliminated and are getting worse day after day. To date, these phenomena have even gone hand in hand with the aging leading bodies and have developed to such an extent that the party and the people cannot tolerate them. They have become big obstacles hindering the modernization drive. The broad masses of party members and cadres long ago noticed these malpractices and their seriousness and have all sorts of feelings well up in their hearts. Therefore, they call for and support the structural reform. This is a good ideological foundation on which to carry out reforms.

In order to ensure smooth progress in structural reform works, the central authorities and the provincial CPC committee have formulated a series of principles and policies to counter various practical and ideological problems and have told the cadres and the masses what their intentions are. These stipulations have helped eliminate the people's fear of disturbances in the rear, calm popular feeling and stabilize the situation. However, this does not mean that we can ignore or delay ideological and political work. Take for instance the veteran cadres' problems on retirement and convalescent leave. Our veteran cadres have a high level of political consciousness. When the revolution calls on a number of veteran cadres to retreat from their leading posts, they should happily retreat, keep the public interest in mind, recommend wise and competent persons, actively help prepare to build new leading bodies and make new contributions to this reform. We must have faith in the veteran cadres, rely on them and give full rein to their role. This is a decisive factor ensuring a smooth advance in structural reform. However, retirement and convalescence leave is, after all, a new stage in their revolutionary life as well as a turning point in their revolutionary career. Although they are old they still have lofty aspirations. They still hope to do more for the party and the people during their lifetime. Such ideals and ambitions are definitely contradicted with the objective requirements for retirement and convalescent leave. In the days to come, they have to gradually adapt themselves to a new life and new environment. In the course of this period of change, the emergence of various ways of thinking is absolutely normal and understandable. This requires the personal efforts of principal leading comrades at all levels to hold heart-to-heart talks with them and to do ideological work among them. We should fully affirm the scores of years of meritorious contributions of the veteran cadres to the party, the people and the revolution, inspire them to take a broad and long-term view, to give consideration to whole situation while weighing advantages and disadvantages, and help them solve practical difficulties in their daily lives and eliminate their fears and worries in the rear in line with relevant stipulations. By doing so, they will happily retreat and continue to write and complete their own revolutionary histories with their words and deeds, use them to educate the younger generation and strive by every possible means and methods which suit their own conditions to serve the people.

Our experiences have proven that the more enthusiastic efforts we exert in ideological and political work, the greater the support the party's policies, principles and stipulations will win from the broad masses of party members and cadres and the more effective part they will play in the daily life of the people.

The work on structural reform involves many tasks and is very complicated. We can imagine how busy the leading comrades are when they also have to take care of routine work. However, regardless of how busy they are, they must not take it as a "pretext" to slacken their efforts to do ideological and political work. Ideological and political work is an important guarantee for winning success in structural reform work, and it should be conducted along with the whole process of structural reform.

Ideological and political work is the lifeblood of all work and is the precious heritage of our party. In the new historic period of socialist modernization, we must inherit this fine tradition and carry it forward. In the course of structural reform, party organizations must attend to education for party members, persist in the system of attending to inner party life, give full rein to the role of party members as vanguards and examples and bring into play the role of party branches as fighting bastions. In line with "Several Stipulations Concerning Structural Reform Which Cadres at All Levels Must Observe" set forth by the organization department of the CPC Central Committee, we must set strict demands on every comrade, examine comrade's action and judge their party spirit. Those who violate the stipulations must be criticized and educated in a timely manner. Serious violators must be dealt disciplinary sanctions. Our leading comrades at all levels must personally grasp ideological education and be models in political work. Example is better than precept. To enable the people to have confidence in reform, we must enhance our understanding and be firm in our action. And to make all people treat reform correctly, we ourselves must work impartially, give consideration to the interests of revolution in everything we do, consciously subordinate ourselves to the organizations, subordinate the part to the whole and be open and aboveboard, work justly and combat sectarianism and individualism. We are convinced that so long as the organizations at all levels resolutely implement the central policies and principles, and conscientiously attend to ideological and political work, our structural reform work will forge ahead rapidly and soundly and will attain the desired goal.

CSO: 4005/734



## PARTY AND STATE

### PREPARATORY MEETING FOR JIANGSU CONGRESS HELD

OW220941 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Apr 83

[Text] The preparatory meeting for the first session of the Sixth Jiangsu Provincial People's Congress was held at the Nanjing Great Hall of the People this morning. The congress session is to be attended by 1,296 deputies, and 1,182 were present at the preparatory meeting. He Binghao, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, presided over the meeting and made a speech.

Comrade He Binghao said: The session's main tasks are: to discuss and decide on the goals to fight for in the last 3 years of the province's Sixth 5-Year Plan and the work and tasks for this year in accordance with the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress and the 5th Session of the 5th NPC; to elect Jiangsu's deputies to the 6th NPC; to elect the principal leading members of provincial-level leading organs; to form the Standing Committee of the new provincial people's congress and the provincial people's government; and to mobilize the people of the whole province to unite as one and make concerted efforts to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization in this province.

Comrade He Binghao said: All of us deputies are entrusted by the province's more than 60 million people to discuss and decide on some important matters concerning the whole province. We should conscientiously exercise our democratic rights, actively express our opinions, ensure that everyone speaks out freely, draw on collective wisdom and absorb all useful ideas so that the session will proceed in a lively manner and the resolutions and decisions made will be more in line with the party's requirements and wishes of the people of the whole province.

The meeting elected a 93-member presidium of the session and elected He Binghao as the secretary-general of the session.

The meeting adopted the following agenda for the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress:

1. To hear and examine the work report of the Jiangsu Provincial People's Government and to examine the draft sixth 5-year economic and social development plan of Jiangsu Province;



2. To examine the draft economic and social development plan of Jiangsu Province for 1983 and to hear and examine reports on the final accounts of Jiangsu Province for 1982 and on the draft provincial budget for 1983.
3. To examine the work report of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Jiangsu Provincial People's Congress;
4. To examine the work report of the Jiangsu Provincial Higher People's Court and the work report of the Jiangsu Provincial People's Procuratorate;
5. To examine and adopt the provisional regulations on certain questions with regard to motions;
6. To elect Jiangsu Province's deputies to the Sixth NPC; to elect the members of the Standing Committee of the Sixth Jiangsu Provincial People's Congress; to elect the governor and vice governors of the Jiangsu Provincial People's Government; to elect the president of the Jiangsu Provincial Higher People's Court and to elect the chief procurator of the Jiangsu Provincial People's Procuratorate; and
7. Other matters.

The first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress will also adopt various resolutions.

The preparatory meeting approved the list of members of the Motions Examination Committee with Chu Jiang as chairman and approved the list of members of the Budget Committee with Bao Houchang as chairman.

CSO: 4005/734

## PARTY AND STATE

### CPC CITES JIANGSU RECRUITMENT VIOLATION

HK211033 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Apr 83 p 3

[Report: "Disciplinary Measures Are Taken Against the Hewang Commune CPC Committee for Recruiting Party Members by Inappropriate Means"]

[Text] The CPC Central Committee's Organization Department recently approved a "circular concerning admission of new party members in haste by the Hewang Commune CPC Committee, in violation of the party organizational principle." The circular was jointly issued by the Huaiyin Prefectural CPC Committee and the Lianshui County CPC Committee of Jiangsu Province.

The circular said: At the end of 1981 when the Hewang commune and its CPC committee were about to be reorganized, the commune CPC committee hurriedly called a meeting to admit 37 probationary party members to full membership at one stroke. It later admitted another one at an informal meeting with only four participants. Most of these new party members have not yet been adequately educated and observed by the party and are not qualified to be transferred to full membership. In addition, some of them were admitted without following established procedure. Seven of them were not discussed by the party group, 17 were not discussed by the general membership meeting of the party branch and one was not discussed by the party branch committee. Seventeen of them handed in their reports in a hurry and many of them asked others to fill in their application forms. When two applicants were refused admittance to full membership at the brigade where they worked, the Hewang Commune CPC Committee immediately transferred them to another brigade. Moreover, the former party Secretary Yin Zhuanxuan and the present party Secretary Cao Chenglin incited some people to recommend the two applicants and accept them as members at a meeting. What is more, the former head of the organization office of the commune CPC committee Ying Guisheng, did not scrutinize the facts on which the decision to admit the applicants was based. When discussing certain party applicants, Ying, as head of the organization office, did not even have their application forms in hand, but read out their names which he had jotted down in his own small notebook. Sometimes, he mistook their names because his writing was difficult to read. By making use of his position, Ying Guisheng also dragged into the party his brother-in-law, who was in fact not qualified for membership, thus creating a bad impression among the masses.

In order to enforce party discipline, the Lianshui County CPC Committee decided on a party disciplinary measure, sounding a warning against Yin Zhuanxuan and a serious warning against Cao Chenglin and Ying Guizheng. As for the 38 probationary party members who had been admitted in haste by the Hewang Cor. June CPC Committee, the higher party organization found, after verifying the facts, that only 8 of them were qualified for full membership.

When approving the above-mentioned circular, the CPC Central Committee's Organization Department pointed out: In the present stage of structural reform, the CPC organizations at all levels must further strengthen supervision and inspection on the work of recruiting new party members. They must adhere to the principle of admitting any applicant to membership only when he is fully qualified, and strictly enact the well-established procedure to this effect so as to ensure the good quality of new party members. They should in no way be indulgent toward any trend of violating the party organizational principle and all cases must be dealt with immediately in a serious manner.

CSO: 4005/734

## PARTY AND STATE

### JIANGSU CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE SESSION ENDS

OW180618 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 16 Apr 83

[Text] The 19th session of the Standing Committee of the 5th Jiangsu Provincial People's Congress ended in Nanjing this afternoon. The meeting earnestly examined the work report of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress to be delivered at the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress. The work report was approved after making certain revisions suggested by members in the course of discussion.

The meeting heard an explanation by Vice Chairman Dai Weiran on the draft provisional regulations governing proposals and agreed to submit them for discussion at the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress for final decision.

The meeting also examined the provincial people's government proposal on suspending the trial regulations of Jiangsu Province governing the collection of fees and the imposition of fines. The meeting held that the trial regulations of Jiangsu Province governing the collection of fees and the imposition of fines passed by the fifth session of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress have, since they were put into effect on 1 January 1981, played a certain role in actively harnessing the three wastes, minimizing pollution and improving the environments in various areas and among units. In view of the fact that the State Council has already promulgated provisional unified regulations governing the collection of fees for nationwide implementation the meeting decided that the trial regulations of Jiangsu Province governing the collection of fees and the imposition of fines will be discontinued beginning from 1 July.

The meeting also approved a list of appointments and removals of a number of cadres of the people's procuratorate.

Vice Chairman He Binghao addressed the closing session.

CSO: 4005/734

## PARTY AND STATE

### JIANGSU TO CONVENE PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

OW171833 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Apr 83

[Excerpts] The Standing Committee of the 5th Jiangsu Provincial People's Congress held its 19th meeting on the morning of 15 April. The meeting decided that the first session of the Sixth Jiangsu People's Congress will be held in Nanjing on 22 April. Chairman Xu Jiatun spoke at the beginning of the meeting. The meeting unanimously adopted the draft agenda for the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress.

The gist of the agenda is:

--Listen to and consider the report on the work of the provincial people's government;

--Examine the draft Sixth 5-Year Plan for the economic and social development of Jiangsu Province and adopt relevant resolutions;

--Consider the reports on the draft economic and social development plan for 1983, the final provincial accounts for 1982 and the provincial budget for 1983 of Jiangsu Province, and adopt relevant resolutions;

--Consider the reports on the work of the provincial higher people's court and the provincial people's procuratorate and adopt relevant resolutions;

--Elect the Standing Committee of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress, governor and vice governors of the provincial people's government, the president of the provincial higher people's court and the chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate; and

--Elect the deputies of Jiangsu Province to the Sixth National People's Congress.

The meeting listened to an explanation by Xin Shaobo, a representative of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress and chairman of the credentials committee, on the election and qualification examination of the deputies to the Sixth Jiangsu Provincial People's Congress.



After some discussion, the meeting adopted the report made by the credentials committee and verified the qualifications of all the newly-elected 1,292 deputies to the Sixth Provincial People's Congress.

The meeting also adopted the proposed namelists of the presidium, the secretary-general, the motions examination committee and the budget committee for the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress.

CSO: 4005/734

## PARTY AND STATE

### JIANGSU MEETING DISCUSSES STAFFING LEADING BODIES

OW171829 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Apr 83

[Excerpts] The Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee held a meeting for the responsible cadres of the various departments, commissions and bureaus at the provincial level this morning. The meeting called for basically completing the staffing of the leading bodies, in the spirit of reform, by about 1 July.

The meeting called for readjusting and restaffing the leading bodies of the various units in the spirit of reform. The meeting stressed that it is necessary to pay attention to the age, the political background and the cultural level of the prospective candidates in order to staff the leading bodies with younger cadres who are better educated, professionally competent and more revolutionary.

The meeting also stressed: In promoting outstanding to leading posts middle-aged and young cadres who are in the prime of life, competent, possess political integrity and a cultural level above senior high school, it is essential to emancipate our minds, enlarge our vision, overcome the erroneous ideas of putting too much emphasis on seniority and perfection or looking down on knowledge and intellectuals. It is also necessary to solicit the opinions of the masses in discovering qualified personnel. The old comrades must contribute to restructuring the various organs at the provincial level by recommending the competent cadres who possess political integrity.

CSO: 4005/734

## PARTY AND STATE

### JIANGSU CPC COMMITTEE HOLDS SECRETARIES' MEETING

OW211201 Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 11 Apr 83 p 1

[Excerpts] The Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee sponsored a meeting of secretaries of city party committees from 6 through 9 April. This was the first important meeting since the founding of the new leading group of the provincial party committee. Attending the meeting were Han Peixin, secretary; Shen Daren, Gu Xiulian, Sun Han and Zhou Ze, deputy secretaries; and Jin Xun, Ye Xutai, Luo Yunlai, Peng Bo and Sun Jiazheng, Standing Committee members, of the provincial party committee.

Also attending the meeting were secretaries of the party committees of 11 cities, their mayors, directors of their planning and economic committees, and leading comrades of various provincial departments, committees, offices, bureaus, institutions and cooperatives.

When the meeting began, Comrade Han Peixin conveyed the CPC Central Committee's decision on the composition of the Jiangsu provincial leading group; then, comrades Xu Jiatun and Liu Lin addressed the meeting. Four veteran comrades--Jiang Weiqing, Liu Shunyuan, Hui Yuyu and Guan Wenwei--addressed the meeting before its conclusion.

The meeting maintained that the current economic situation in Jiangsu is satisfactory, but that heavy economic tasks are numerous and it is particularly necessary to work hard to fulfill or overfulfill this year's economic plans and work in a down-to-earth manner to make various economic projects a success. It said: At present, we must exert the greatest efforts possible to increase industrial and agricultural production and, under the premise of improving economic performance, resort to all possible means to fulfill or overfulfill this year's national economic plan. Industrially, efforts must be made to achieve an uninflated and solid industrial development and steady growth. Agriculturally, efforts must be made to seize a bumper harvest of the summer-ripening crops, stabilize the acreage for grain and cotton production and make spring farming a success so that grain and cotton output will continue to increase and economic diversification projects will continue to develop this year.

To make this year's economic work a success throughout the province, the following specific measures must be scrupulously organized and adopted with unified understanding. First, the output of commodities needed in agricultural production must be guaranteed on a priority basis. All economic departments of the provincial organs and all cities must continue to place agriculture ahead of everything else and strive to do a good job in serving agriculture and the rural areas. Second, while organizing production, special attention must be attached to ensuring the production of light industrial and textile products and other consumers goods to meet the needs of the market, as well as the rising living standard of people residing in urban and rural areas. Third, construction of the major projects must be ensured. Efforts must first be directed at completing the state's major projects, and then to the major provincial projects. Fourth, reforms must continue to be enforced. Currently, the project of substituting tax for profits has been gradually carried out in various cities throughout the province. This project, which is broadly involved, has a strong policy nature. All city party committees and governments must strengthen their leadership over this task, and all economic departments must work in close coordination and strengthen their guidance and control over commodity prices and taxes.

The meeting urged that the restructuring of the provincial and city administration be further intensified. It pointed out that, since early last November, when plans were officially announced, the provincial, prefectural and city party and government organs have paid special attention to handling four projects during the last 5 months: restructuring the provincial leading group; accomplishing the merge of prefectures and cities and setting up the new system of putting counties under the city jurisdiction; planning the establishment of party and government organs within the provincial organizations; and handling the retirement of a large number of veteran cadres in the course of restructuring the administrative organs.

The meeting emphatically pointed out. To do a good job in reform and economic work, the key lies in strengthening the party's leadership and improving our style of work. Now, particular attention must be paid to the following tasks:

1. It is necessary to strengthen party building and improve party style. It is most important to organize all party organizations and members to unify their thinking and actions on the basis of the party's line, principles and policies and to identify themselves politically with the party Central Committee. At the same time, efforts must be made to act on the requirements laid down by the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, vigorously combat unhealthy trends which would harm the interests of the state and people, continually wage a struggle to strike at serious crimes in the economic sphere, and resolutely overcome signs of weakness and laxity in leadership. Only by improving the party style, will it be possible for us to bring about changes in the social values and develop spiritual civilization.
2. It is essential to carry out major reform in our style of leadership and work methods.

3. The leading cadres at all levels must play an exemplary role in strengthening unity. Currently, steps are being taken in all fields of endeavor to effect reforms and replace the old with the new. The tasks in all fields are arduous, and unity is of particular importance in this respect. Only by uniting as one and joining all efforts, will it be possible for us to carry out our tasks well.

On the issue of improving the style of leadership, the Standing Committee of the provincial CPC committee held: We must impose strict demands on ourselves in study, work and livelihood, and act upon the "party constitution" and the "Guiding Principle for Inner-Party Life." Particular attention must be paid to the following points:

1. It is necessary to unflinchingly maintain the same stand as the party Central Committee politically, ideologically and organizationally, and to quickly correct and put a stop to words and deeds running counter to the party's line, principles and policies.
2. It is imperative to strictly enforce democratic centralism. The Standing Committee must exercise collective leadership, with its members sharing the work and shouldering individual responsibility. Major issues must be discussed and decided collectively.
3. It is essential to strengthen study and conduct investigations. Efforts must be made to integrate theory with practice, proceed from reality, seek truth from facts, do away with formalism, refuse to strive for fame and bring into full play the role of all relevant departments.
4. It is necessary to humbly learn from the masses, diligently serve the people, listen to advice and views with an open mind and accept the supervision of the masses. Except for important meetings, festivals and foreign affairs activities, newspapers and radio and television stations generally should refrain from reporting on the activities of the leading comrades of the provincial CPC committee.
5. It is imperative to display the style of arduous struggle, seek neither private interests nor special privileges and be happy with lower remuneration. It is necessary to impose strict demands on one's family members, children and relatives, educate them, and refuse to use one's own position and power to help them gain special privileges.

CSO: 4005/734

## PARTY AND STATE

### HEILONGJIANG RECEIVES DELEGATES' MOTIONS

SK220540 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT  
21 Apr 83

[Text] On the afternoon of 21 April, the motions examination committee of the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress held its second meeting. Wang Pinian, chairman of the Motions Examination Committee, presided over the meeting.

The meeting heard the report on the situation in delegates' examining motions and the report of the motions examination committee on examining motions.

By 1200, 18 April, the motions examination committee had received 732 motions from delegates and put 172 of them on record. In line with categories of content, the 172 motions have been merged into 102. The other 560 motions will be handled in accordance with delegates' opinions and suggestions.

Twenty of 102 motions are made on industrial and communications construction and urban construction--restoring, repairing and constructing railway lines, providing the minority nationalities with ample articles for production and daily use, disposing of pollution of the environment, raising clearing workers' wages and strengthening plans for urban construction.

Eleven motions are made on agriculture, forestry and water conservancy--reducing the prices of farm machines, ensuring paddy rice procurement, raising the price of paddy rice, repairing and building dykes on rivers, building reservoirs and power stations and (?fixing forestry production quotas.)

Nineteen motions are made on financial and trade work--readjusting the policy for grain purchase and sales, building more grain storehouses, setting up more commercial services centers and strengthening foreign trade.

Twenty-six motions are made on science and technology, culture and education, public health and physical culture--increasing funds for scientific research and education to improve teaching quality, establishing schools for minority nationalities, improving public health utilities and enhancing traditional Chinese medical science.



Thirteen motions are made on plans, labor and material supply--raising wage scales in border counties, solving housing problems for intellectuals, rationally recruiting workers and constructing large bridges.

And thirteen motions are made on politics and other fronts--strengthening public security, reforming administrative divisions and strengthening the construction of small town.

CSO: 4005/734

## PARTY AND STATE

### HEILONGJIANG STARTS TRAINING COURSES FOR CADRES

SK180153 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT  
17 Apr 83

[Text] Our province has opened up more avenues of schooling for cadres at their posts. Five choices of study are being provided for cadres of the province. The consciousness of cadres in study is rising to an unprecedented height.

The five choices are:

- 1) Cadres may study at party and cadre schools. Party and cadre schools at all levels throughout the province plan to enroll 45,000 students. Some qualified party and cadre schools may enroll students who have graduated from a two-year schooling period of colleges and secondary specialized institutes.
- 2) Cadres may study training courses for cadres at colleges and secondary specialized institutes. At present, 10 odd colleges and secondary specialized institutes across the province have started 2-year training courses for cadres and plan to enroll 5 to 600 students every year.
- 3) Cadres may study at different categories of cultural continuation schools at each level. These schools are set up for cadres with an educational level at or below junior middle school.
- 4) Cadres may study at radio and TV colleges. Beginning in September 1983, the Heilongjiang Radio TV College will start 2-year Chinese and economic courses for cadres released from work. The college plans to enroll 43,000 students.
- 5) Cadres may conduct self-education. The provincial CPC committee will give the unified examinations for self-educated cadres of party and government organs. Beginning in November 1983, examinations in each category of courses will be given in succession. Those who pass all the examinations will be issued college graduation certificates. The number of examinees for self-education is not fixed.

After promulgation of the five choices of study, large numbers of cadres are full of enthusiasm. They will make their own choices in line with their personal situations.

Up to now, more than 70,000 cadres have registered for self-education examinations. The number of cadres who want to attend study courses is more than the planned quotas. Some cadres at their posts are devoted to reviewing their lessons to prepare for the entrance examinations that will be sponsored by all categories of schools in July and August.

CSO: 4005/734

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'HEILONGJIANG RIBAO' DISCUSSES REFORM PROBLEMS

SK220814 Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Mar 83 pp 1, 4

[HEILONGJIANG RIBAO commentator's article: "We Should Take a Resolute Attitude Towards Reform"]

[Excerpts] At present, large numbers of party members and cadres across the province are conscientiously studying and implementing the CPC Central Committee's ideology concerning reform, summing up the experiences gained from practices to help raise their understanding and pledging to push reform forward in line with the principles, policies, steps and measures defined by the CPC Central Committee. In the course of study and implementation, however, some people quickly and deeply understand reform and some only slowly and superficially understand it. Meanwhile, some comrades lack comprehensive understanding of the instructions of the CPC Central Committee on speeding up the pace of reform on the one hand, and proceeding with other tasks in an orderly manner on the other. They think that reform can be carried out either boldly, vigorously and quickly or soundly and steadily. They regard caution and steadiness as a phenomenon of "rectifying a deviation." Such thinking has also emerged more than once in the course of setting right the things that had been thrown into disorder and in the course of instituting the agricultural responsibility system. The repeated appearances of this phenomenon have given us an extremely deep lesson and enlightenment. That is, to keep firm unanimity with the CPC Central Committee in reform, we must solve the following three problems:

1. We should further eliminate the "Leftist" ideas and strive to make up the unaccomplished task of setting the guiding ideology right.

Practice has proven that whether or not every locality, department and front has a correct guiding ideology is the primary question in carrying out reform. The CPC Central Committee has repeatedly stressed and reminded us that, although the party accomplished the historic task of setting the guiding ideology right, it does not mean that all practical jobs have been set right or that the guiding ideology has been straightened out in all trades and professions. In the spheres of economy and the people's livelihood, there still are quite a few concepts and practices that are erroneous and unsuitable for our country's situation and that have shackled the people for a long

time. In the course of creating a socialism imbued with Chinese characteristics, many new situations and contradictions will emerge and, thus, we must conscientiously find them out and study them, sum up new experiences and find new regulations and rules. Only by appraising the past, keeping abreast of the present, adhering to correctness and correcting mistakes can we really unite our ideology with the demands of the CPC Central Committee. However, due to the failure in summing up their past work and in straightening out their ideology, some comrades cannot understand and even disagree with the demand of the CPC Central Committee for unceasingly eliminating the influence of the "Leftist" ideas. They regard the party's call for removing the rightist obstructions as a practice of "rectifying a deviation." To avoid such problems in the future, we must now continually set things right that have been thrown into disorder, sum up our historical experiences in a conscientious and systematic manner, draw a clear distinction between correctness and falsehood and discover the methods that were correct in the past but are no longer suitable for the new situation.

2. We should overcome one-sided ideology and integrate the revolutionary spirit with a scientific attitude.

Reform is a profound revolution. To break with all outmoded regulations and workstyles that hamper the progress of our work and to create a socialism imbued with Chinese characteristics, courage, boldness, study and a pioneering spirit are needed.

To avoid setbacks and losses and to achieve success in carrying out reform, not only a resolute revolutionary spirit but also a calm scientific attitude is needed. To this end, the CPC Central Committee clearly informed us long ago that we should have a full understanding of not only the importance and urgency but also of the arduousness and the complex nature of reform. With regard to the question of whether or not we should carry out reform, we must take a positive and resolute attitude towards it and should not be shaken.

With regard to methods, reform should be carried out in line with the practical situation and in a well-guided, systematic and orderly manner. Meanwhile, we should take the road of putting into practice and summing up experiences; and then putting into practice and summing up experiences once again. We should not take hasty, impulsive actions, rush headlong into mass action or seek arbitrary uniformity. Why are some comrades unable to comprehensively and accurately understand and implement the line, principles and policies of the CPC Central Committee and why do they hesitate to move forward in the course of reform? The major reasons are: They set reliance on the revolution's natural opposition to science nature and they maintain that cautiousness conflicts with boldness, sober-mindedness conflicts with enthusiasm and a steady pace conflicts with an active attitude.

3. We should pay attention to the interests of the party and the people and not to the interests of individuals and localities.

We should proceed from reality and not from a signal by leaders at higher levels. In carrying out reform, we should no longer engage in the past practices, which had been engaged in while participating in political movements,

of anticipating possible trends, watching some people's mood, judging "benefits" and sizing up the situation in order not to be dismissed from an official post. If we still engage in such practices while carrying out reform, we will have no regulations to observe and will easily go to extremes, that is, either passively resisting and delaying reform, or rushing headlong into mass action. Therefore, we must resolutely eliminate such evil practices that were left over from the erroneous "leftist" ideas and avoid causing losses to the great cause of reform.

Reform is a historical trend, a fundamental way to make China strong and prosperous, the firm choice of the 1 billion people as well as a brilliant strategic decision of the CPC Central Committee. We hope that the comrades who still have doubts and misgivings over carrying out reform will draw lessons and wisdom from the historical experiences. All party members, revolutionary cadres and, in particular, leading comrades of the party at all levels, who have been determined to struggle all their lives for the state's prosperity and for the people's happiness, should stay sober-minded and take a firm stand in carrying out reform. Their actions have a decisive bearing on the success or failure of our cause, so they should regard reform as a basic guiding ideology and vigorously carry out reform in practical work in an all-round manner.

CSO: 4005/734



## PARTY AND STATE

### BRIEFS

**ZHEJIANG CPPCC COMMITTEE MEETING**--A preparatory meeting for the first session of the Fifth Zhejiang Provincial CPPCC Committee was held this morning at the Great Hall of the People in Hangzhou. The preparatory meeting adopted the namelists of the presidium, the secretary-general of the first session and the chairman, vice chairmen and members of the motions examination committee. It also adopted the agenda and the work schedule for the first session. The main items on the agenda of the first session of the Fifth Provincial CPPCC Committee are: examining the work report of the Standing Committee of the Fourth Provincial CPPCC Committee; electing the chairman, vice chairmen, permanent members and the secretary-general of the Fifth Provincial CPPCC committee; discussing and adopting the report on the examination of motions; adopting a political resolution, and attending the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress as observers. Wang Jiayang presided over the preparatory meeting this morning. After the preparatory meeting, the presidium held its first meeting. [Text] [OW220223 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 20 Apr 83]

**ANHUI STANDING COMMITTEE SESSION**--Hu Kaiming, vice chairman of the Anhui Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, addressed the closing session of the 19th meeting of the 5th Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee. He summarized the work of the Standing Committee and expressed his hope toward members of the committee. In his speech, Vice Chairman Hu Kaiming pointed out: to successfully carry out the work of the Standing Committee and more effectively display its role, it is necessary to further improve our knowledge of the local people's congress Standing Committees at various levels, place the emphasis of Standing Committee work on strengthening socialist democracy and building the legal system, earnestly strengthen our links with the deputies, rely on in-depth investigation and study as our main approach and work hard to build the Standing Committee. Vice Chairman Hu Kaiming concluded: the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress will open on 23 April. In this transition period of working with older cadres and taking over responsibilities from them, I believe that everyone will continue to display a due role in their post and make new contributions to realizing the grand goals put forward at the 12th CPC Congress and to creating a new situation in Anhui's socialist modernization. [Excerpts] [OW180038 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1110 GMT 15 Apr 83]

FUJIAN VOLLEYBALL TEAM--Leading comrades of party, government and army organizations in Fujian called on the members and coaches of the Fujian provincial men's volleyball team at the provincial stadium this morning. The leading comrades included Xiang Nan, Wu Hongxiang, Zhang Yumin, He Minxue, Zhang Gexin and (Zhao Siguan). The team had just returned home after its win at the national games. [Excerpt] [OW170646 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 16 Apr 83]

FUJIAN STRUCTURAL REFORM--Fuzhou, 9 Apr (XINHUA)--Structural reform of Fujian provincial government organs has been basically completed. The number of committees, offices, departments and bureaus under the provincial government has been reduced from 65 to 39, or a reduction by 40 percent. This was disclosed by Wen Fushan, vice governor of Fujian Province, at the 20th Standing Committee meeting of the 5th Provincial People's Congress today. According to statistics compiled by 38 units, 134 persons have newly assumed posts as heads and deputy heads, averaging 3.5 persons per unit, or a reduction by 1.6 persons. The average age of heads and deputy heads is 54.2 years, or a drop of 6.9 years. Those who have college and higher institute level of education account for 38 percent or an increase of 26 percent as compared with the previous proportion. [Cai Qinghe] [Excerpts] [OW221055 Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Apr 83 p 1]

SHANGHAI CPPCC COMMITTEE MEETING--A preparatory meeting was held before the first session of the Sixth Shanghai Municipal CPPCC Committee. The preparatory meeting approved the namelists of the presidium, the secretary general, the motions examination committee and the draft resolution committee of the first session, and adopted the agenda for the first session. After the preparatory meeting, the presidium held its first meeting which adopted the namelist of the executive chairmen of the first session. The executive chairmen are Li Guohao, Zhang Chengzong, Song Richang, Mei Jiasheng, Yang Shifa, Jing Renqiu, Lu Yudao, Zhao Chaogou, (Xu Yifang), Long Yue, Ye Shuhua, Liu Liangmo, Tang Junyuan and (Dong Yinchu). The presidium meeting also adopted the agenda for the first session, opinions on improving the quality and procedures of motions and the namelist of the deputy secretaries general of the first session. [Text] [OW220111 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Apr 83]

LIAONING CPPCC PREPARATORY MEETING--According to our reporters, the first session of the Fifth Provincial CPPCC Committee held its preparatory meeting this morning. Comrade Zhang Yan, vice chairman of the Fourth Provincial CPPCC Committee, presided over the meeting. The meeting approved the members namelist of the session's presidium, secretary general and motion examination committee, as well as the session's agenda. The permanent chairmen of the session's presidium will be elected at the presidium meeting. Main items of the session's agenda set forth by the meeting are as follows: 1) The work report of the Fourth Provincial CPPCC Standing Committee will be discussed and approved; 2) members will attend, as observers, the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress to hear the work report of the provincial people's government; and 3) the chairman, vice chairmen, standing committee members and secretary general of the Fifth Provincial CPPCC Committee will be elected. [Excerpt] [SK210339 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Apr 83]

JIANGSU CPPCC MEETING--The Standing Committee of the 4th Jiangsu Provincial CPPCC Committee held its 19th meeting in Nanjing on 14 and 15 April. The meeting decided that the first session of the Fifth Jiangsu Provincial CPPCC Committee will be held in Nanjing on 20 April. The meeting also discussed and adopted a report on the work of the Standing Committee of the Fourth Jiangsu Provincial CPPCC Committee. It decided, through consultation, the participating units to the first session of the Fourth Provincial CPPCC Committee, the number of members of the Fourth Provincial CPPCC Committee and candidates for various positions. [Excerpt] [OW171155 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Apr 83]

HEILONGJIANG PRESIDUM HOLDS MEETING--The presidium of the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress held its fourth meeting this afternoon. It was presided over by Comrade Zhao Dezun. The meeting heard a report by Li He, deputy secretary-general of the session, on the discussions of the composition of provincial deputies to the Sixth National People's Congress and to the Sixth Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee and namelists of candidates for provincial governor, deputy governors, president of the provincial higher people's court, the chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate, president of the prefectural intermediate people's courts and chief procurator of divisional procuratorates. It also examined and adopted the above namelists of candidates. The above namelists will be regarded as formal candidate namelists to be submitted to all deputies for further consultation and discussions. [Text] [SK191133 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 18 Apr 83]

HEILONGJIANG PEOPLE'S CONGRESS--On 17 April, the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress held group discussions on draft election regulations, considered and talked over the list of candidates for the provincial deputies to the Sixth National People's Congress, the list of members of the Sixth People's Congress Standing Committee, lists of candidates for governor, deputy governors, president of the provincial higher people's court, chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate, presidents of the prefectural intermediate people's courts and chiefs procurators of the prefectural people's branch procuratorates and approved after deliberation the namelists of chief balloting inspector and inspectors to make preparations for the election work. [Text] [SK180012 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Apr 83]

HEILONGJIANG PRESIDUM MEETING--This afternoon the first session of the Sixth Heilongjiang Provincial People's Congress held the third meeting of its presidium. The meeting was chaired by Comrade Zhao Dezun. The participants heard a report by Comrade Zhao Zhenhua on the deputies' discussions over the past 3 days of the provincial government work report. They also heard a report on the deputies' discussions of the report on the province's sixth 5-year national economic plan and plans for social development and plans for 1983 and their discussions on the report on 1982 final accounts and the 1983 budget. Through discussions, the meeting approved draft resolutions on the provincial government work report and on the report on the province's sixth 5-year national economic plan, plans for social development and plans for 1983.

The resolutions are to be submitted to the session for discussion. The meeting approved a report on the examination of the final accounts and the budget and a relevant draft resolution. It also approved the namelist of the chief ballot supervisor and ballot supervisors. [Text] [SK170732 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 16 Apr 83]

HEILONGJIANG SECOND PRESIDUM MEETING--The presidium of the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress held its second meeting on the afternoon of 15 April. The meeting approved the election procedures for the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress and heard Comrade Li He's announcement of the namelist of provincial representatives participating in the Sixth National People's Congress and lists of candidates for the provincial people's congress Standing Committee members, governor and deputy governors, president of the provincial people's court and chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate jointly recommended and approved by the provincial CPC committee, all democratic parties, mass organizations and non-party and patriotic personages. Comrade Zhao Dezun chaired the meeting. [Text] [SK160759 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Apr 83]

HEILONGJIANG RECRUITMENT REGULATIONS--The provincial government recently issued the "Heilongjiang Provisional Regulations for Recruitment of Workers of State-run Units." The "Regulations" stress implementation of the principle of "recruiting in public, conducting all-round examinations and selecting the best to use" so as to improve the quality of the workers contingent and to facilitate the reform of the labor system. The "Regulations" stress that recruitment should be carried out in strict accordance with the state-approved quotas for increases in workers, that indiscriminate recruitment without permission should be banned and that recruitment should be done under the unified plan of the labor departments of the cities or counties where the units to recruit workers are located. The "Regulations" cancel the past method of allowing units to recruit the children of their own workers as preferential treatment for the workers. These children are required to apply for jobs, sit for examinations and be selected just like other youths. In the future, no unit is permitted to "recruit within the units." Rigid demands are set on the preferential treatment given to retired staff and workers in recruiting one of their children. That is, the children to be recruited should meet the recruitment requirements. The "Regulations" stipulate that fraud, malfeasance and abusing power to practice nepotism should be sternly punished. [Text] [SK170944 Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Mar 83 p 1]

CSO: 4005/734



## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### HEBEI ARMED POLICE UNIT ESTABLISHED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 4 Feb 83 p 1

/Report by Zhao Yabo /6392 0068 3134/, Guo Jiyu /6753 0370 6276/, Li Bao /2621 5508/, and Wang Ruichao /3769 3843 2600/: "Carry Out the Readjustment Policy, Suit the Needs of Reform; the Hebei Provincial Unit of the Chinese People's Armed Police Force Has Been Established"

/Text/ On 3 February the Hebei Provincial Unit of the Chinese People's Armed Police Force was established in the provincial capital.

Leading comrades of the provincial party committee, the standing committee of the provincial people's congress, the provincial government, the provincial people's political consultative conference and the provincial military district attended the meeting to offer their congratulations.

Also attended the meeting were comrades in charge of the provincial public security department and various branches, commissions, office, departments and bureaus directly administered by the province, leading comrades of Shijiazhuang prefecture and municipality and representatives of concerned units.

The meeting was conducted by Ma Hongzhang /7456 3163 4545/, political commissar of the Hebei unit of the armed police force.

The meeting announced the circular of the Ministry of Public Security on the assignment of the leaders of the Hebei unit, appointing Liu Gang /0491 0474/ as concurrently first political commissar of the Hebei Provincial Unit of the Chinese People's Armed Police Force, Li Zhongtang /2621 0112 1016/ as the unit commander, Ma Hongzhang as political commissar, Li Wenmin /2621 2429 2404/ as assistant unit commander and concurrently chief of staff to the command headquarters, Zhao Xingren /6392 2502 0117/ as assistant unit commander, and Ma Chengli /7456 6134 4409/ as deputy political commissar of the unit.

On behalf of the provincial party committee and government, Wang Dongning /3769 2639 1380/, member of the standing committee of the provincial party committee and vice governor, warmly congratulated the formal establishment of the Hebei unit, and warmly welcomed the newly received units for internal defense and assignments. He said: transferring the PLA units responsible for internal guard duties to public security departments and unifying them

with the armed police in the current system of military service to form the people's armed police force is a decision made by the Party Central Committee based on the new circumstances of China's four modernizations proceeding from the overall situation in building the armed forces of the state. It is a major substance of state structure reform. In so doing, it benefits the building of both the army and the people's armed police force. It has a practical significance and a profound historical significance in safeguarding socialist democracy and the legal system, in consolidating and strengthening the people's democratic dictatorship, and in safeguarding smooth progress of the four modernizations.

The establishment of the Hebei unit signifies that the strength of public security organs at all levels in our province has been further substantiated and increased. It will play an important role in bringing about basic improvement in the social order in our province. It is hoped that party committees at all levels, the provincial government and the broad masses of people throughout the province will value and care for this force, and will enthusiastically support and help them to complete all tasks.

The commanding officer of the Hebei Military District Ma Hui /7456 6540/ spoke at the meeting. He said: the PLA units responsible for internal guard duty transferred to the people's armed police will have the same overall responsibilities. The PLA and the people's armed police force are both the people's own army founded and led by the CPC. It is hoped that everyone will continue to maintain and carry forward the fine traditions and work style of the PLA and that we will do our best in building the people's armed forces under the correct leadership of party committees at all levels and public security departments.

On behalf of the officers and men of the armed police throughout the province, the commander of the Hebei unit Li Zhongtang indicated that under the leadership of the command headquarters of the armed police force, provincial party committee, provincial government and provincial public security department, we must do our best to lead, build and manage this force so that it may play its role in the struggle to solidify and strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship and to safeguard the four modernizations.

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CSO: 4005/639



## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### HEBEI ARMED POLICE UNIT CHIEF INTERVIEWED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 4 Feb 83 p 3

/Article: "Person In Charge of the Hebei Provincial Unit of the Armed Police Force Answers Questions On the Formation of the People's Armed Police Force"

/Text/ This reporter has recently interviewed the person in charge of the Hebei provincial unit of the people's armed police force and requested his answers to some questions in concern.

/Question/ Why is it necessary to transfer the PLA units responsible for internal guard duties to public security departments and to form the people's armed police force?

/Answer/ At present, the whole party is implementing the policy of readjustment and reform. Transferring the PLA units responsible for internal guard duties to public security departments is an important substance in implementing the readjustment policy and carrying out structure reform. It is a major policy put forward by the Party Central Committee which proceeds from the overall situation of building the armed forces of the state to strengthen the modernization and standardization of the armed forces and to strengthen the building of public security organs and the people's armed police force. Our is a state with the people's democratic dictatorship whose main instruments are the army, police and law court. However, the functions of the army and police in state power are different. Their common task is to protect the state and the smooth progress of socialist modernization. But the scope of their work is not the same. The army essentially defends against aggression from the outside and internal defense should be the responsibility of the people's armed police. Due to various reasons and for a long period of time the distinction between the army and police has not been made and their duties have been unclear. Transferring the units responsible for internal guard duties to public security departments and separating the army and police with respective duties will enable the army to concentrate its energy and devote itself to war preparation training on the basis of national defense characteristics to meet the needs of war in the future. At the same time it will also substantiate and strengthen public security contingents, and benefit the building of the people's armed police force. It has a great practical significance and profound historical significance in perfecting socialist democracy and the legal system. It will solidify and strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship and will ensure smooth progress of the four modernizations.

/Question/ What is the nature of the people's armed police force and how does it differ from the PLA and people's police?

/Answer/ The people's armed police force is an important component of the people's police. It is an armed force, under the leadership of various party committees and public security organs, to safeguard national sovereignty and dignity, to safeguard social order, and to protect the people's lives and property. The people's armed police force, similar to the PLA, is the people's own army in the system of voluntary military service. The people's armed police force is a special force responsible for a special task. Their uniform differs from those of the PLA and other kinds of police. The uniform of the people's armed police is green on the top and blue on the bottom. The insignia on their cap is the PRC national insignia.

/Question/ What kind of special force is the people's armed police and what special task is it responsible for?

/Answer/ The three main types of the people's armed police in our province include internal defense armed police, frontier armed police and fire protection people's police. The major duties of the internal defense armed police are: suppressing anti-revolutionary riots; preventing anti-revolutionary disorder, capturing escaped criminals; arresting, escorting and guarding criminals; guarding party and government organs; guarding key bridges and tunnels, and advance science and technology research as well as important factories and mines; guarding and escorting criminals sentenced to reform through labor; protecting places for labor reform; and dealing with various kinds of urgent and emergency situations. The frontier defence armed police is responsible for administering the coastal security within the Hebei border and for frontier security check on international vessels in Qinhuangdao harbor, for guarding against and cracking down on enemy agents in hiding or fleeing the country and sabotage activities of small bands of armed enemy agents, and for cracking down on the illegal and criminal activities of smugglers and drug peddlers. The fire protection people's police is responsible for the important task of fighting fires and protecting socialist modernization, and for the safety of the people's lives and property. In times of war, the people's armed police force will also assist the army in combat, resist aggression and protect the motherland.

/Question/ Can you discuss the prospects of building the people's armed police force and the plans of the provincial unit?

/Answer/ The Party Central Committee is very concerned about the building of the people's armed police force and has given many important directives. We must implement them in earnest and make great efforts to build this into a revolutionary, professional, standardized and modernized force which is loyal to the party, loyal to the people, feared by the enemy and loved by the people; a force that can be depended on by the party and state. Moreover, let me take this opportunity to say a few words to the people through your newspaper. First, we hope that the broad masses of the people will supervise this force of ours. Second, we hope they will help us, because only with the vigorous cooperation from the people will we be able to better complete various tasks entrusted by the party and people.

## **SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE**

### **ZHEJIANG'S 1982 CENSUS RESULTS RELEASED**

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 31 Oct 82 p 1

[Report: "Communique of the Zhejiang Statistics Bureau on Major Statistics From the 1982 Census in Zhejiang Province (31 October 1982)"]

[Text] Communique of the Zhejiang Statistics Bureau on major statistics from the 1982 census in Zhejiang Province (31 October 1982):

In compliance with the instructions of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, and in accordance with the provisions of the "Methods of the Third National Census," Zhejiang conducted its third census, beginning 1 July, using the method of face-to-face interviews. A postenumeration sampling check has verified that the census enumeration work met the demand for high quality. The main figures tabulated manually are now released as follows:

1. Total Population. At zero hour on 1 July 1982, the population of the entire province was 38,884,603--an increase of 10,566,030 people, or 37.31 percent, over the figure of 28,318,573 in the second census in 1964, with an average annual increase of 587,002 people or 1.8 percent.
  2. Composition by Sex. Of the total population in the province, males number 20,166,892, accounting for 51.86 percent, and females 18,717,711, accounting for 48.14 percent. The sex ratio (the proportion of males per 100 females) is 107.74.
  3. Population of Nationalities. The province has a total of 34 nationalities. The Han nationality population is 38,723,586, accounting for 99.59 percent of the total; the population of the minority nationalities is 161,017, making up 0.41 percent. Compared with the figures of the 1964 census, the Han nationality population has increased by 10,511,647, or 37.26 percent, and the population of the minority nationalities has increased by 54,383, or 51 percent.
- Of the minority nationalities in our province, the Yu nationality population is 147,573, the Hui nationality 9,435, the Man nationality 1,220, the Zhuang nationality 1,113, and the population of the other minority nationalities is less than 1,000 each.

4. Educational level of the Population. Among the population of the whole province, 126,914 are university graduates, 54,607 have attended university (including those now attending university), 2,019,524 have a senior middle school education, 6,915,644 have a junior middle school education, and 15,310,873 have a primary school education. Those who have a senior middle school, junior middle school, or primary education include graduates, those who attended school previously but did not finish, and those who are presently enrolled in these respective levels.

Compared with the 1964 census figures, the following changes have occurred in education level for every 10,000 people: [The number of] persons with a university education has increased from 28 to 47; those with a senior middle school education have increased from 112 to 519; those with a junior middle school education have increased from 425 to 1,779; and those with a primary school education have increased from 2,859 to 3,938.

Moreover, illiterates and semiliterates (people 12 years of age and above who cannot read or who can read only a few words) number 9,399,568. Compared with the 1964 census figures, the percentage of illiterates and semiliterates in the total population has dropped from 37.89 to 24.17 percent.

5. Birthrate and Mortality Rate. The number of births in 1981 in the whole province was 690,044, for a birthrate of 17.93 per thousand. The number of deaths in 1981 was 241,191, for a mortality rate of 6.27 per thousand. The natural increase in the population in 1981 was 448,853, a rate of 11.66 per thousand.

6. Population of Cities and Towns. The population of the nine municipalities--Hangzhou, Ningbo, Wenzhou (excluding counties under their administration), Huzhou, Jiaxing, Shaoxing, Jinhua, Weizhou, and Jiaojiang--is 6,860,512 (including a population of 4,517,187 in rural people's communes administered by the municipalities). The population of the 165 towns administered by the counties is 3,136,438. The total population of cities and towns is 9,996,950, accounting for 25.71 percent of the provincial population.

7. Distribution of Population by Area. The population of prefectures and municipalities is as follows:

Hangzhou Municipality: 5,260,472, including 1,191,584 in prefectures under municipal jurisdiction;

Ningbo Municipality: 956,676, including 468,232 in prefectures under municipal jurisdiction;

Wenzhou Municipality: 5,928,344, including 508,613 in prefectures under municipal jurisdiction;

Jiaxing Prefecture: 5,239,689;

Ningbo Prefecture: 3,784,933;

Shaoxing Prefecture: 3,852,118;

Jinhua Prefecture: 6,066,194;

Lishui Prefecture: 2,217,026;

Taizhou Prefecture: 4,674,645;

Zhoushan Prefecture: 904,506.

8. Quality of Census Enumeration Work. The quality of enumeration work in this census in our province was excellent because party committees at all levels and the government have strengthened leadership, all the census workers have worked hard, the masses of people have given their enthusiastic support and, in addition, preparatory work was relatively adequate and measures have been relatively effective. After verification and sampling check, the overcount, undercount and error rate of all categories were within the norms set by the state.

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CSO: 4005/614



## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### LIAONING'S 1982 CENSUS RESULTS RELEASED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Nov 82 pp 1-2

[Report: "The Provincial Statistics Bureau Releases Major Statistics of the Census in Our Province; the Total Population in the Province Is 35,721,693"]

[Text] Communique of the Liaoning Statistics Bureau on the major statistics of the 1982 census (30 October 1982):

In accordance with the decision reached by the Party Central Committee and that State Council, Liaoning has carried out the third population census. Preparations began in August 1980, and full-scale enumeration began on 1 July 1982. Full-scale verification work has also been carried out. A post-enumeration sampling check verifies that the enumeration work met the demand for high quality. The main figures tabulated manually are as follows:

1. Total Population. The total population of the whole province at zero hour, 1 July 1982, was 35,721,693. Compared with the figure of 26,946,200 at zero hour on 1 July 1964, the population has increased by 8,775,493 people, or 32.6 percent, in 18 years--an average annual increase of 487,527 people, or 1.6 percent.
2. Composition by Sex. Of the total population in the province, males number 18,224,680, accounting for 51 percent, and females 17,497,013, accounting for 49 percent.
3. Distribution of Population by Area.

<u>Population by Area</u>		<u>County Population Included</u>
Shenyang Municipality	5,115,236	1,111,831
Dalian Municipality	4,685,727	3,260,749
Anshan Municipality	2,516,834	1,302,264
Fushun Municipality	2,060,146	867,331
Benxi Municipality	1,402,241	609,840
Dandong Municipality	2,600,791	2,063,046
Jinzhou Municipality	4,467,909	3,892,610
Yingkou Municipality	2,743,716	2,324,076
Fuxin Municipality	1,694,292	1,050,092
Liaoyang Municipality	1,590,169	1,141,362
Tieling Prefecture	3,379,144	including 357,121 in cities
Chaoyang Prefecture	3,465,488	including 213,606 in cities



4. Population of Cities and Towns. The total population of the 13 cities and 93 towns in the whole province is 15,132,303, of which the population of cities is 11,878,587 and that of towns 3,253,716. Compared with the 1964 census figures, the population of cities and towns has increased by 4,153,047, or 37.8 percent. The percentage of population in cities and towns in the province has increased from 40.1 percent in 1964 to 42.2 percent.

5. Population of Nationalities. The province has a total of 40 nationalities. The Han nationality population is 32,812,517, accounting for 91.86 percent of the total; the population of the minority nationalities is 2,909,176, making up 8.14 percent.

The population of five of the minority nationalities exceeds 10,000 each. They are: the Man nationality with a population of 1,989,989, the Monggol nationality 428,136, the Hui nationality 239,200, the Chaoxian nationality 198,397, and the Xibe nationality 49,380.

Compared with the figures of the 1964 census, the population of the Xibe nationality has increased by 226.5 percent, the Man nationality 61.4 percent, the Monggol nationality 50.3 percent, the Chaoxian nationality 35.4 percent, the Hui nationality 34.3 percent, and the Han nationality 30.8 percent.

6. Educational Level of the Population. Among the population of the whole province, 261,645 are university graduates, 101,791 have attended university (including those now attending university), 3,337,718 have a senior middle school education, 9,866,637 have a junior middle school education, and 12,735,134 have a primary school education. Those who have a senior middle school, junior middle school, or primary school education includes graduates, those who attended school previously but did not finish, and those who are presently enrolled in these respective levels.

Compared with the 1964 census figures, the following changes have occurred in education level for every 10,000 people: [The number of] persons with university education has increased from 68.2 to 101.7; those with a senior middle school education have increased from 222.9 to 934.4; those with a junior middle school education have increased from 737.1 to 2,762.1; and those with a primary school education have decreased from 3,691.7 to 3,565.1.

Of the population in the province, illiterates and semiliterates (people 12 years of age and above who cannot read or can read only a few words) number 4,622,734. Compared with the 1964 census figures, the percentage of illiterates and semiliterates in the total population has dropped from 23.7 to 12.9 percent.

7. Birthrate and Mortality Rate. The number of births in 1981 in the whole province was 650,492, for a birthrate of 18.53 per thousand. The number of deaths in 1981 was 186,882, for a mortality rate of 5.32 per thousand. The natural increase in the population in 1981 was 463,610, a rate of 13.21 per thousand.

Of the number of births in 1981, males numbered 336,412, accounting for 51.7 percent, and females 314,080, accounting for 48.3 percent. Of the number of

deaths in 1981, males numbered 103,035, accounting for 55.1 percent, and females 83,847, accounting for 44.9 percent.

The birthrate, mortality rate, and rate of natural increase in municipalities and prefectures in 1981 were as follows:

<u>Area</u>	<u>Birthrate</u> <u>per thousand</u>	<u>mortality rate</u> <u>per thousand</u>	<u>Rate of natural increase</u> <u>per thousand</u>
Shenyang Municipality	18.76	5.35	13.41
Dalian Municipality	17.01	5.29	11.72
Anshan Municipality	18.06	4.71	13.35
Fushun Municipality	18.23	5.74	12.49
Benxi Municipality	17.02	4.87	12.15
Dandong Municipality	18.62	5.45	13.17
Jinzhou Municipality	19.34	5.54	13.80
Yingkou Municipality	17.89	4.46	13.43
Fuxin Municipality	20.56	5.26	15.30
Liaoyang Municipality	16.82	5.03	11.79
Tieling Prefecture	19.74	5.41	14.33
Chaoyang Prefecture	19.36	6.07	13.29

8. Old People 100 Years of Age and Above. Among the population in the province, there are 51 old people 100 years of age and above. Of these, 20 are males, with the oldest being 108; 31 are females, with the oldest being 106.

9. Quality of Census Enumeration Work. A postenumeration sampling check was made after the completion of the enumeration and the verification work in the province, in accordance with the "Regulations Governing the Sampling Check on the Quality of Enumeration Work." The results have shown that the error rate is low in all categories, and much better than the quality standards specified by the state.

Enumeration and verification in the third province-wide census have been completed with high quality, under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee and the State Council and with the great importance given to it by party committees and the government at all levels in our province, the enthusiastic support by the people of all nationalities, the close coordination among all concerned departments, as well as the hard work by all census workers. Although the enumeration work has been completed, the overall census work has not. The province-wide census is presently pooling human energy and time to code and record census materials for data processing by computers, to publish census data in segments, and to analyze the results. Inspired by the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, census workers throughout the province are resolutely making efforts to seize complete victory in their work.

## SOCIOLOGICAL EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### CAUSE OF RISE IN MULTIPLE BIRTH RATE EXAMINED

Fuzhou FUJIAN LUNTAN [FUJIAN FORUM] in Chinese No 6, 20 Dec 82 pp 43-45

[Article by Lan Yijiang [5695 4135 3068]: "On the Question of the Current Multiple Birth Rate in the Rural Population"]

[Text] In his report at the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "under no circumstances can planned parenthood work be relaxed, especially not in the rural areas." This is because the rural population accounts for about 80 percent of the country's total population. To attain the goal of "controlling our country's population at under 1.2 billion by the end of this century," getting a good handle on planned parenthood work in the rural areas is a key point.

After the agricultural responsibility system was universally put into practice, planned parenthood work in the rural areas encountered some new problems. In recent years, there has been a tendency for the birth rate and the multiple birth rate to rise again. In this connection we paid a visit to Songxi County, Fujian Province, during which we focused on understanding the problem of the multiple birth rate rising once again, in order to find the causes for this rise, suit the remedy to the case, and insure the attainment of the goal of controlling the population.

Songxi County is a small county in a remote mountain area. At the end of 1981, its total population was 126,985 and it had 172,109 mu of cultivated land. Before liberation, there were 3.5 mu of cultivated land per capita. But by 1981 the population had grown from 51,966 to 126,985, a net increase of 75,019 or a growth of 144 percent, exceeding the average population growth rate in the country and the province and causing the per capita cultivated land to fall to 1.35 mu. In the same period, grain output rose from 33,986,600 jin to 134,590,100 jin, an increase of 299 percent, but the amount of grain per capita rose from 650 jin to 860 jin, an increase of only 32 percent, or about 9 times lower than the grain increase rate. In the latter stage of this period, because the county party committee attached importance to planned parenthood work and tried hard to control the tendency for a rapid growth in population, the birth rate fell from 48 percent in 1971 to 19.7 percent in 1979, and in 1980 it again fell to 11 percent, and thus the national population growth rate fell to 5.9 percent and the county became an advanced unit in planned parenthood work.

But since 1981, when the production responsibility system was put into effect, the county's planned parenthood work has encountered some new problems and there has been a tendency for multiple births to rise again (as the table below shows).

Year	Total Population (people)	Number of Births (people)	Birth Rate (percent)	Among Which		
				1 - 2 Births	Multiple Births	Multiple Birth rate (percent)
1979	125,051	2,467	19.7	1,493	974	39
1980	125,981	1,377	10.9	1,130	233	20.5
1981	126,981	1,742	14.4	1,473	269	15.4
1982*	126,985	756	5.99	626	130	17.2

\*First Half

In addition, according to a survey conducted by the country's planned parenthood office, within the year women who are now pregnant could give birth to 701 babies, among which 120 would be multiple births, or a multiple birth rate of 17.1 percent. It is thus clear that the problem of multiple births being on the rise again cannot but draw a high degree of attention.

What is the cause of the resurgence of the multiple birth rate? Can the resurgence be simply attributed to the fact that the production responsibility system was put into practice? In our investigation we found that because the responsibility system had been put into practice households with more labor power frequently prospered a little faster than others and that this stimulated the peasants to want more births, thereby causing the multiple birth rate to rise again. However, at the same time, the putting into practice of the production responsibility system was also a factor in restraining population growth. This factor was manifested in the following aspects.

1. After the agricultural production responsibility system was put into practice, land in relatively fixed acreages was contracted out to each family or household for them to cultivate, and more children does not mean more land will be contracted out, especially in places where there are many people and little land. Therefore, the more children, the less per capita cultivated land. At the present stage, land is still the principal source of the peasants' income, so giving birth to more children is bound to affect the raising of their living standard.



2. Peasants are now more concerned about scientific farming, and they have gradually come to recognize the importance of their children getting more schooling. So the peasants' educational costs for their sons and daughters has increased, and the time when their sons and daughters begin to take part in labor has been deferred. The only way both to lighten the burden on the families and raise the level of scientific and cultural knowledge of their sons and daughters is for families to have fewer children. Young persons 30 years old and under now fairly easily accept planned parenthood, precisely because they have received a certain degree of education and understand the importance of letting their sons and daughters get more schooling.

3. Although children in rural areas begin early to take part in labor, for a short period of time, especially before they are 10 years old, they are a big burden. After the production responsibility system was put into effect, the equalitarianism of the past, in which everybody ate out of "the same big pot," was fundamentally changed, causing families with many sons and daughters no longer to have the economic edge in the production brigade or team, and in turn causing the peasants to easily accept planned parenthood.

4. After the production responsibility system was put into effect, the labor productivity rate in the rural areas greatly increased and a large amount of surplus labor power emerged. Although this surplus labor power could be employed in subsidiary agricultural production, technology and funds would definitely be required, and this fact has restricted the utilization of surplus labor power. This phenomenon is also a factor restricting peasants from having many children.

The above analysis shows that the resurgence in the multiple birth rate in the rural areas cannot be simply attributed to the practice of the agricultural production system. In this regard, a specific analysis should be made.

The resurgence of the multiple birth rate in the rural areas was not caused by the practice of the agricultural production responsibility system, but was caused by the fact that the new situations and new problems that emerged after the system was put into effect were not sufficiently studied and relevant measures were not taken. This can be verified by the survey data listed on the table below.

From this table we can see that, when the two communes began to practice the production responsibility system in 1981, the per capita cultivated area of Zhengdang Commune was a little bigger than that of Weitian Commune, but that its birth rate and multiple birth rate were far lower than those of Weitian Commune. It is thus clear that there is no necessary connection between the practice of the production responsibility system and the resurgence of the multiple birth rate.

In our country's economic and social development, the population problem is, from beginning to end, an extremely important problem. The key to controlling our country's population at 1.2 billion by the end of this century is to stop the phenomenon of multiple births. At present, the women of our country who are of child-bearing age on average gave birth to 2.2 babies, and, calculated

Y E A R	Weitian Commune						Zhengdang Commune					
	Total Pop. (People)	Cultivated Area (Mu)	Number of Births	Birth Rate (%)	Among Which		Total Pop. (People)	Cultivated Area (Mu)	Number of Births	Birth Rate (%)	Among Which	
					Multiple Births	Birth Rate (%)					Multiple Births	Birth Rate (%)
1979	21,524	31,394	458	21.28	201	43.6	16,347	25,466	319	19.5	116	39.3
1980	21,595	31,394	301	13.90	78	25.9	16,197	25,456	135	8.2	16	11.8
1981	21,785	31,394	395	18.10	93	23.5	16,248	25,456	184	11.3	11	5.9
1982*	21,785	31,394	151	6.90	39	25.3	16,248	24,456	78	4.8	7	9.0

\*First Half



on this basis, by the year 2000 the population will reach 1,291,550,000. Only by eliminating multiple births and bringing a women's average number of births down to about 1.7 will we be able to attain the predetermined goal of controlling the population. How are we to do good work in this respect? During our survey, we came to understand:

First, the key lies in the importance attached to this work by party and government leaders. The main experience of Zhengdang Commune was that party and government leaders paid a high degree of attention to planned parenthood work, with the principal responsible comrades personally making arrangements for and inspecting the work, dividing up the work and assigning a part to each individual or group, and putting responsibility on the individual. Thus, it became the commune with the lowest birth rate and multiple birth rate in the county.

Second, two plans must be formulated together and two kinds of production must be grasped together. After the agricultural production responsibility system was put into effect in the rural areas, the family became not only a birthing unit but also a production unit, and economically it possessed a great deal of independence, and this entailed difficulties in beginning awards or penalties in planned parenthood work. Under these circumstances, some communes and production teams in Songxi County did the following things to recombine birthing and production: at the same time that they formulated a production plan, they formulated a birthing plan and demanded that the following several things be combined: while assigning production tasks, they assigned planned parenthood tasks; when examining production they examined planned parenthood; and when appraising and comparing for awards, they made planned parenthood an important condition. Thus, planned parenthood was changed from work that a minority of people did in the past to work that the majority of people took part in and managed, and planned parenthood was implemented by the production brigade or team, household, and individual. For example, after the Luqiao Production Brigade of Huaqiao Commune put into practice the two kinds of responsibility system, there were no cases last year in the brigade of a woman having a third baby. In many places, when an agricultural production contract was signed, it included a planned parenthood contract, which effectively stopped population growth. All these were effective experiences.

Third, we must use the economic lever by creating in the rural areas a social environment that is advantageous for single-child families to prosper before others. Preferential treatment for single-child families will limit the number of families which exceed the planned number of births, and measures for awarding and penalizing certainly must be implemented and made good. At present, there are very few collective reserves in some communes, brigades, and teams, and so it is difficult for them to make awards. But by gradually perfecting the agricultural production responsibility system, this difficulty will be resolved.

Fourth, under the new circumstances, we must strengthen propaganda and education work, making a point of leading and educating commune members to put the country's interests in first place, and this possesses especially

important significance. We must focus on the idea of some commune members that "now I cultivate the land myself and also rear my children myself, and take care of myself, so nobody need bother about anybody else," and, by adopting the method of calculation and persuasion, make the peasants understand the harm that having many babies does to themselves, the collective, and the state so that they consciously carry out planned parenthood.

Fifth, we must make a point of solving the actual difficulties in life that some peasants are encountering by solving the problem of their support in old age and by doing good work in maternity and child care, in order to relieve some of the masses from their worries about "rearing children as a protection against old age" and about making the birth of children an "insurance coefficient."

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